

THE WORKS
OF
SHAKESPEARE



KING RICHARD II

Act IV. Scene i.

**FROM THE PAINTING IN THE LIVERPOOL
ART GALLERY BY SIR JOHN GILBERT, R.A.**

THE HENRY IRVING SHAKESPEARE

THE WORKS OF
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

EDITED BY

SIR HENRY IRVING AND FRANK A. MARSHALL

VOLUME IV

WITH MANY HUNDRED ILLUSTRATIONS

NOTES AND INTRODUCTIONS TO EACH PLAY BY

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KING RICHARD II.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ¹

KING RICHARD THE SECOND.

JOHN OF GAUNT, Duke of Lancaster, } uncles to the King.

EDMUND OF LANGLEY, Duke of York, }

HENRY, surnamed Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, son to John of Gaunt;
afterwards King Henry IV.

DUKE OF AUMERLE, son to the Duke of York.

THOMAS MOWBRAY, Duke of Norfolk.

DUKE OF SURREY.

EARL OF SALISBURY.

LORD BERKLEY.

SIR JOHN BUSHY.

SIR WILLIAM BAGOT, } servants to King Richard.

SIR HENRY GREEN, }

EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

HENRY PERCY, surnamed Hotspur, his son.

LORD ROSS.

LORD WILLOUGHBY.

LORD FITZWATER.

BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.

LORD MARSHAL.

SIR STEPHEN SCROOP.

SIR PIERS OF EXTON.

CAPTAIN of a band of Welshmen.

QUEEN to King Richard.

DUCHESS OF YORK.

DUCHESS OF GLOSTER.

LADY attending on the Queen.

Lords, Herald, Officers, Soldiers, two Gardeners, Keeper, Messenger, Groom,
and other Attendants.

SCENE AND HISTORIC PERIOD.

The Scene is laid in England and Wales; and the Historic Period is from 29th April, 1398,
to the beginning of March, 1400.

TIME OF ACTION.

The time of this play, according to Daniel, comprises fourteen days.

Day 1: Act I. Scene 1.—Interval.

Day 2: Act I. Scene 2.—Interval.

Day 3: Act I. Scene 3.—Interval.

Day 4: Act I. Scene 4; Act II. Scene 1.—Interval.

Day 5: Act II. Scene 2.—Interval.

Day 6: Act II. Scene 3.—Interval.

Day 7: Act II. Scene 4; Act III. Scene 1.

Day 8: Act III. Scene 2.—Interval.

Day 9: Act III. Scene 3.—Interval.

Day 10: Act III. Scene 4.—Interval.

Day 11: Act IV. Scene 1; Act V. Scene 1.—Interval.

Day 12: Act V. Scenes 2, 3, and 4.—Interval.

Day 13: Act V. Scene 5.—Interval.

Day 14: Act V. Scene 6.

¹ We have adopted the arrangement of the characters,
as to precedence, given in the Cambridge Edition, in

accordance with the suggestions of Mr. George Russell
French.

KING RICHARD II

INTRODUCTION.

LITERARY HISTORY.

FOUR editions in Quarto of this play were published before the date of the first Folio, 1616. It appears that the Tragedy of Richard II. was entered on the Stationers' Register by Andrew Wise on 29th August, 1597; the full title-page of this edition (Quarto) being:

The | Tragedie of King Ri- | chard the Se-
| cond. | *As it hath bene publikely acted |*
by the right Honourable the | Lorde Chamber-
laine his Ser- | uants. | LONDON. | Printed by
Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and | are
to be sold at his Shop in Paules church yard
at | the signe of the Angel. | 1597 | (Q. 1).

The next edition (Q. 2) was published in 1598, when the author's name was first added: "*By William Shake-speare.*" The third edition (Q. 3) was published in 1608.

Printed by W. W. for *Mathew Law*, and are to be | sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard,
at | the signe of the Foxe. | 1608. |

Of this edition there was a second issue in the same year with the following title-page:

• The | Tragedie of King | Richard the Se-
cond: | with new additions of the Parlia- |
ment Sceane, and the deposing | of King
Richard, | *As it hath been lately acted by the*
Kinges | Maiesties Seruantes, at the Globe. |
By William Shake-speare. | At London, |
Printed by W. W. for *Mathew Law*, and are
to | be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard,
| at the Signe of the Foxe. 1608. |

A fourth edition (Q. 4) was published in 1615: the title-page was substantially the same as that of the second issue of the last edition, except that it is stated to be "Printed for *Mathew Law.*"

The Cambridge Editors say: "Each of these Quartos was printed from its immediate predecessor. The third however contains an

important addition, found in all the extant copies of Q. 3, amounting to 165 lines, viz. act iv. sc. 1, lines 154-318. This is what is meant by 'the new additions of the Parliament Scene' mentioned in the title-pages of some copies of Q. 3, and in that of Q. 4. These 'new additions' are found also in the first and following Folios, and in Q. 5. The play, as given in the first Folio, was no doubt printed from a copy of Q. 4, corrected with some care, and prepared for stage representation. Several passages have been left out with a view of shortening the performance. In the 'new additions of the Parliament scene' it would appear that the defective text of the Quarto had been corrected from the author's MS. For this part therefore the first Folio is our highest authority: for all the rest of the play the first Quarto affords the best text." (Cambridge Edn. vol. iv. page ix.)

The fifth edition (Q. 5), 1634, was printed from the Second Folio; but, as the Cambridge Editors remark: "its readings sometimes agree with one or other of the earlier Quartos, and in a few cases are entirely independent of previous editions." The title-page is substantially the same as that of the two last editions except that it was "Printed by Iohn Norton."

Shakespeare seems to have taken his material chiefly from Holinshed's Chronicles, which he follows indeed very closely; for some touches he may have been indebted to Hall. Messrs. Clark and Wright, in their preface to this play (Clarendon Press Series), say that it is evident that Shakespeare "used the second edition of Holinshed, published in 1586-7, from the fact that the withering of the bay-trees (ii. 4. 8) is recorded in that edition alone, and not in the first of 1577."

It seems to be the opinion of most editors that there were at least two other plays on

the same subject, besides Shakespeare's. Mr. Stokes in his work on the Chronological order of Shakespeare's plays mentions a third entitled: "*The Tragedy of Richard II.*, concluding with the murder of the Duke of Gloster at Calais," which was reprinted in 1870.¹ The first of these two plays is thought to have been the one acted in 1601, on the afternoon preceding the day of the rebellion of Essex, in the presence of Sir Gilly Merrick and others of the followers of Essex. In the State Paper Office the following document is preserved:—

"The exam. of Augustyne Phyllyppes, servant unto the L. Chamberleyne, and one of his players, taken the xvijth of Februarij, 1600[-1], upon hys othe.

"He sayeth that on Fryday last was senyght, or Thursday, S^r Charles Pryce, or Jostlyne Pryce, and the L. Montegle, with some thre more, spake to some of the players, in the presens of thys exam^t to have the playe of the deposing and kylling of Kyng Rychard the Second to be played the Saturday next, promysing to geve them xl^s more then their ordinary to play yt; when this exam^t and hys fellowes were determyned to have played some other play, holdyng that play of Kyng Rychard to be so old, and so long out of yous (use), that they should have small or no company at yt. But at theire request, this exam^t and his fellowes were content to play it the Saturday, and have theise xl^s more then theire ordinary for yt, and so played yt accordyngly.

Augustine Phillippes.

Ex per Jo. Popham.

Edw. Anderson.

Edw. Fenner."

I confess, that, from the last document quoted, I cannot see why the play alluded to should not have been that of Shakespeare, which is supposed to have been written about 1594; and at any rate to have been acted some time before it was first published. Surely, in 1601, to actors who were in the habit of playing three or four different pieces every week, this play might have seemed "old and long

out of use;" and, however high may be the opinion held by some critics of Richard II., it must be confessed that it is one which from its deficiency in dramatic interest was likely to be shelved when it had ceased to have any particular political application.²

Messrs. Clark and Wright maintain that "it is certain the play represented at Merrick's instigation was not Shakespeare's play." [Preface to Richard II. (Clarendon Press Series), page 5.] They add: "And it would be difficult to conceive any play less likely to serve the ends of the conspirators than this of Shakespeare even with the deposition scene, in which the sympathies of the audience during the later acts are powerfully attracted to the unfortunate King. And besides, the conspirators were most anxious to disclaim any attempt upon their Sovereign's life." But that Queen Elizabeth was often compared with Richard II. is quite clear; and the displeasure which she showed at Sir John Hayward's publication of his History of the First Year of the Reign of Henry IV. for which he was censured by the Star Chamber, and committed to prison, proves how touchy she was upon this subject.³ It is also highly probable that the lines, iv. 1. 154-318, which are said in the second issue of the

¹ For the special political application which Richard II. must have had when first written, see the paper by the late Richard Simpson on the Politics of Shakespeare's Historical Plays (New Shakspere Society's Transactions, 1874, Pt. 2, pp. 406-11).

² Staunton says in his Introduction to this play that Queen Elizabeth "in a conversation with the accomplished William Lambarde, twelve months afterwards, on the occasion of his presenting her with his pandect of her Rolls in the Tower, when, looking through the records, she came to the reign of Richard II. she remarked: 'I am Richard II. know ye not that?' Lambarde replied, in allusion to the Essex attempt, 'Such a wicked imagination was determined and attempted by a most unkind gent, the most adorned creature that ever your Majesty made:' to which her Majesty rejoined: 'He that will forget God, will also forget his benefactors: this tragedy was played 40th times in open streets and houses.'" The authority given for this quotation in Collier's edition (vol. iii. p. 212) is Thorpe's *Costumale Boffense* (p. 80). I failed to find the passage in Thorpe's Works at the British Museum; but, granting that Elizabeth was accurate, the statement that this tragedy had been played 40 times "in open streets and houses" might be considered by Messrs. Clark and Wright, and those who agree with them, as tending to prove the tragedy could not have been Shakespeare's Richard II.

¹ See below, pp. 5, 6.

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Third Quarto to have been new additions, were part of the original play of Shakespeare; but were suppressed in the former editions on account of their being likely to give offence to Queen Elizabeth. It seems to me that the purposes of the co-conspirators of Essex would have been sufficiently served by the representation of Shakespeare's play, even though it did not exactly foreshadow their scheme; and the more so, perhaps, because the sympathies of the audience were invited in favour of the deposed and murdered king, since that very fact would seem to acquit them of any disloyal intention; while the references in the earlier portions of the play to fiscal oppressions, and the evil influences of favourites, would recall to the audience those grievances which the people of England had suffered, and were then suffering, under Queen Elizabeth's rule. In the State Trials, vol. vii. page 60, according to Tyrwhitt (see Var. Ed. Preface to Richard II. vol. xvi. p. 5), occurs the following passage: "The story of Henry IV. being set forth in a play, and in that play there being set forth the killing of the king upon a stage; the Friday before, Sir Gilly Merrick and some others of the earl's train having an humour to see a play, they must needs have the play of Henry IV. The players told them that was stale; they should get nothing by playing that; but no play else would serve: and Sir Gilly Merrick gives forty shillings to Phillips the player to play this, besides whatsoever he could get."¹ Surely Shakespeare's play of King Richard II. answers quite closely enough to this description; while the mistake of calling it "the play of Henry IV." is one that might be easily made, considering that Bolingbroke is the real hero of the play; that it *was* a mistake is evident from the fact that Bacon, in his "Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Essex and his complices against her Majesty and her Kingdoms," calls it "the play of deposing King Richard the Second;" and Augustine Phillips, in his Declaration (quoted above), calls it "the play of the deposing and

kylling of Kyng Rychard the Second." The only fact therefore that really militates against the theory that the play represented was Shakespeare's Richard II. is the fact that Phillips describes it as "so old and so long out of use." But is it not likely that a fellow-player of Shakespeare might be guilty of a little exaggeration on such a subject, and might not be sorry to take the opportunity of depreciating his fellow-actor's play? On the whole, then, I confess I cannot see any proof that the play represented at Merrick's instigation was not Shakespeare's; while, from the description given of it, there is every reason to suppose that it was.

With regard to the second play on the subject of Richard II. its existence appears only to be known from the Diary of Dr. Simon Forman, who witnessed at the Globe Theatre, 1611, a play called Richard II. which he says began with Wat Tyler's rebellion. From the points in the play noted by Forman, and the names of the characters which he gives, it is evident that this play could not have been Shakespeare's. In some respects it seems to have been based upon the old play of *The Life and Death of Jack Straw*, 1593 (see Dodsley's *Old Plays*, vol. v.); but a great many of the incidents mentioned are not found in that play; and it does not seem to have treated of the deposition and death of Richard II. but of the events in the earlier part of his reign.

A brief account of the Play "The Tragedy of Richard II." referred to in the Notes as the "Egerton MS. Play."—This play, which is contained in a volume of MS. plays, originally in the Egerton Library and now in the British Museum, deserves some special notice. It is evidently a copy which was used in the playhouse, and contains many stage directions in the margin. Eleven copies of it were printed by Mr. Halliwell; but it is almost impossible to obtain one; and I am indebted to his kindness for the use of his own copy. It is printed *verbatim* and *literatim* from the MS.: and therefore, as the very defective punctuation and spelling are religiously preserved, it is difficult, even from the printed copy, to form a fair idea of the merit of the play. But that it does

¹ This seems to be part of the Attorney General Bacon's speech at the trial.

KING RICHARD II.

possess considerable merit in the variety of its incidents and characters, and in its humour and satire, will be plain to anyone who will take the trouble to read it through. There is nothing, as far as I can ascertain at present, to indicate its authorship. The events treated of are, principally, those which occurred in what may be called the middle portion of King Richard's reign; and, as it ends with the murder of Gloucester at Calais, it does not embrace any portion of the period of Shakespeare's play. The hero is "plain Thomas" of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, whose character is represented in a far more favourable light than that in which it is regarded by most historians. The sequence of historical events is utterly disregarded; but, as a vivid picture of some of the abuses—especially those relating to fiscal matters—which distinguished the reign of Richard II. the play has, perhaps, even some historical value. It commences with an unsuccessful attempt to poison the king's uncles at a banquet. This is followed by a scene between Tressilian, Green, and Bagot. It is somewhat remarkable that both of the latter, and Bushy, are very prominent characters in this play; although, at that period of his reign, they do not seem to have exercised any very particular influence over the king; nor are they mentioned by any of the chroniclers until after the successful conspiracy which resulted in the removal of Gloucester. The coronation of Queen Anne follows; then we have the scene in which the king claims the right to rule alone, as having attained his majority. In the third act the king takes his queen, Anne, to see his sumptuous hall at Westminster; then we have a very amusing scene descriptive of the mode of collecting those blank charters to which Shakespeare alludes more than once. The fourth act contains the arrangement for the farming of the kingdom to Green, Bagot, Bushy, and Scroop; and the plot, successfully carried out by the king and his minions, for seizing Gloucester and conveying him to Calais. The fifth act contains the murder of Gloucester; and a scene, in which some liberties are taken with history, representing the death of Green, among other incidents, in a battle between the king and

his followers on the one side, and his uncles on the other. The last act is not quite complete; but the missing portion must be very small and, probably, unimportant. For a more detailed account of this very interesting play, I must refer to my paper read before the New Shakspeare Society, April 10th, 1885. The result of the discussion which followed was an unanimous agreement, on the part of those who had examined the MS., that the play was undoubtedly later than Shakespeare's, and probably as late as 1630.

As for its literary merits, it will suffice to say here that the blank verse contains many spirited passages; and that, although it never rises to any high level of poetry, there is much vigorous writing, and no little dignity and rough pathos, in some of the speeches assigned to Woodstock. The prose portions of the play are distinguished by more pregnant wit than is generally found in anonymous plays of this period.

STAGE HISTORY.

Richard II. never seems to have been popular upon the stage. It always laboured under the disadvantage of being too exclusively political a play; and this disadvantage seems to have interfered with its production at the theatre, long after the time when one would have thought that its political allusions could have had any personal application. Meres mentions it (in *Palladis Tamia*) amongst Shakespeare's tragedies which had made his name famous before 1598. It was one of the plays which Captain Keeling allowed to be acted before him on board his ship *The Dragon*, on September 30th, 1607 (see *Ingleby's Centurie of Prayse*, p. 79). Sir Henry Herbert mentions it as having been acted on June 12th, 1631; it was one of the plays presented for his half-yearly benefit. The following is the extract, quoted by Malone, referring to this circumstance: "Received of Mr. Shanke, in the name of the kings company, for the benefit of their summer day, upon y^e second daye of Richard y^e Seconde, at the Globe, this 12 of June, 1631,—5l, 6s. 6d."

Dryden in his preface to *Troilus and Cressida*, or *Truth Found Too Late*, 1679, praises

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very highly the speech describing Bolingbroke's entry into London (act v. sc. 1. lines 23-36); but it does not appear whether Dryden had ever seen the play acted.

The first record we have of any attempt to revive it after the Restoration, was at the Theatre Royal, in 1681, when Nahum Tate brought out a very free adaptation of this play, which he called the Sicilian Usurper; the names of the characters were all changed; but in spite of this precaution, and the numberless alterations, omissions, and additions, made chiefly with the object of inculcating in the play lessons of loyalty, we learn that "it was silenced on the third day;" the authority at court, answering to our Lord Chamberlain, having suppressed it without taking the trouble to read it, according to Tate's plaintive account: "I confess I expected it would have found protection from whence it received prohibition; and so questionless it would, could I have obtained my petition to have it perused, and dealt with according as the contents deserved, but a positive doom of suppression, *without examination*, was all that I could procure—for the two days in which it was acted, the change of the scene, names of persons, &c., was a great disadvantage—I called my persons Sicilians, but might as well have made them inhabitants of the World in the Moon." [See Genest (vol. i. p. 294), where a very interesting account of the alterations, &c., made by Tate is given.] For forty years this play seems to have been unacted, till Theobald tried his hand at mutilating it. His version was produced on December 10th, 1719, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. It was acted seven times; Richard II. being played by Ryan, Bolingbroke by Leigh, and the Queen by Mrs. Bullock. Genest says, "With the exception of some speeches which he has judiciously transposed, he omits the 1st and 2d acts of the original play—he lays the scene the whole time at, or before, the Tower." Theobald, like Tate, seems to have tried his hand at converting York into a consistently loyal character, but with a very poor success. As a specimen of Theobald's additions, Bolingbroke, finding Richard dying, says in a burst of poetical remorse:

Ha! Richard! how came this?

to which the King replies:

Question it not;

Content, that all thy fears with me lie bury'd:

Unrival, wear the crown.—O Isabella! (*dies.*)

On February 6th, 1738, "by desire of several ladies of quality" Shakespeare's play of Richard II. was produced at Covent Garden; Delane playing the part of the King, Ryan that of Bolingbroke, Mrs. Horton the Queen. On this occasion the scene of the lists at Coventry seems to have been represented with some attempt at historical accuracy. According to Genest: "this revival was acted 10 times, and about 4 times in the next season."

No great actor¹ seems to have thought of again reviving this play, until, in 1815, Edmund Kean appeared (on March 9th) at Drury Lane, in a version by Wroughton, announced as "with considerable alterations and additions from the writings of Shakspeare." On this memorable occasion Richard II. was played by Kean, Bolingbroke by Elliston, the Queen by Mrs. Bartley; and we find an addition to the *Dramatis Personæ* in the shape of "Blanche (with a song)," in which character Miss Poole appeared. If I mistake not, Wroughton was the prompter of the theatre; and a wonderful *olla podrida* he seems to have succeeded in making. Amongst the plays he laid under contribution were Henry VI. Parts II. and III., Titus Andronicus, King Lear, Antony and Cleopatra, Troilus and Cressida, and I know not what others. To students of Shakespeare this wonderful piece of mosaic tragedy must have been a real treat; especially the scene in which "the Queen is discovered reclined on a sofa, and one of her ladies sings an air—the Queen in her last speech speaks 5 lines from Titus Andronicus" (Genest, vol. viii. p. 453). I wonder that Kean could have consented to appear in such

¹ Genest says (vol. iii. p. 554): "Garrick had once resolved on its revival; but his good sense at last overpowered his ambition to raise it to the dignity of the acting list—Garrick's chief expectations from it, as he himself confessed, would have been founded on scenery displaying the magnificence of our ancient barriers."

I do not know what authority Genest had for this statement. I can find no reference to such an intention in Davies' or Fitzgerald's *Life of Garrick*.

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a dreadful mutilation of Shakespeare; but he does not seem to have achieved any great success in the character, although the play was acted thirteen times. In the same year Macready appeared as Richard II. at Bath (on January 26th), in what appears to have been Shakespeare's own play slightly abbreviated. Genest says: "the play was gotten up at some expense and was well acted—it was, however, performed but twice, and that to bad houses."

The last important revival of this play was that by the late Charles Kean, at the Princess's Theatre, on March 12th, 1857. The play was magnificently put upon the stage, and, on the whole, very well acted; but the great attraction was the so-called "historical episode" interpolated between act iii. and act iv. in which the entry of Bolingbroke and Richard II. into London, as described by the Duke of York in act v., was represented in action. A "dance of itinerant fools," introduced into this scene, was a great success. I am afraid many more people went to see the "historical episode" and the "dance of itinerant fools"—most of them very pretty—than would have been attracted by Shakespeare's play without such gorgeous additions.

Mr. F. R. Benson, whose devotion to Shakespearean drama has led to many an interesting revival, played the true Richard II. in the provinces during 1897, and also gave the piece as one of his productions at the Memorial Theatre, Stratford-on-Avon. On March 15th, 1900, during his season at the Lyceum, Mr. Benson revived the drama with success; taking the part of the King himself, and giving the rôle of the Queen to Miss Lily Brayton, and that of Bolingbroke to Mr. Oscar Asche. Mr. Benson's company repeated the play at the Comedy Theatre, March 13th, 1901.

In 1876, Edwin Booth, supported by F. Robinson, Miss Annie Russell, &c., appeared in Richard II. at the Fourteenth Street Theatre, New York.

An attractive *al fresco* performance of the play was given in the grounds of Flint Castle, August 21st, 1899, in celebration of the quincentenary of Richard's surrender to Bolingbroke at that place.

By far the most elaborate production of this seldom-acted drama was seen at His Majesty's Theatre on Sept. 11th, 1903; under the management of Mr. H. Beerbohm Tree, who played the part of the King.

CRITICAL REMARKS.

This play has been very much praised by some critics. Coleridge, indeed, would assign to it the first place among Shakespeare's historical plays. It seems to me that, from whatever point of view we regard it, it is one of his weakest plays. Certainly it contains some fine speeches, but it contains also many tedious and weak passages written in rhyme—the work, as I believe, of a very inferior hand to Shakespeare's. As a play for the stage, Richard II. is deficient in plot and in character. There is scarcely any female interest, for the Queen is little more than a shadow. If Bolingbroke was intended to be the hero, his gross hypocrisy alienates from us all the sympathy which his gallantry might otherwise excite.

Richard himself is a weak, inconsistent character, as he is presented to us in the first two acts. Both from what he says and from what he does, no less than what other characters tell us about him, we cannot but hold him to be at once mean and profligate. In act i. sc. 1 he affects a tenderness for his uncle John of Gaunt's feelings, and professes to remit four years of the son's banishment in deference to the father's sorrow; but in act ii. sc. 1 his conduct towards the same John of Gaunt when he is dying is simply brutal. He displays a petty vindictiveness which is thoroughly feminine, and a gross selfishness which seems the only masculine thing about him. One might forgive him some lack of affection for his uncle; but one can scarcely forgive the indecent haste with which, before the breath is almost out of the noble old man's body, this epicene king seizes his "plate, coin, revenues and moveables." It is true that when King Richard finds himself deserted by most of his professed adherents, and betrayed by others, he gives vent to some very fine sentiments, which might fittingly come from the mouth of a king who, although

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guilty of misgovernment, was making a brave stand against his enemies; but Richard is doing nothing of the sort. Certainly luck is against him; the Welsh army, on whose support he relied with, perhaps, too much confidence, is hastily broken up under a misunderstanding. That arch-hypocrite York, after talking a great deal about his loyalty, betrays, in the most dastardly manner, the solemn charge which had been placed in his hands as regent. The laborious professions of tenderness for Richard's feelings and respect for his person which Bolingbroke utters, could scarcely have deceived him even in his weakest moments; but, in spite of the beautiful speeches that he makes, Richard *does* nothing either brave, or noble, or dignified, in the presence of his misfortunes. He vacillates between picturesque despair and spasmodic self-assertion: his sorrow is more that of a discarded mistress than of a dejected king. At the very end, when he is weakly resigning his undoubted rights as sovereign, he is full of fine sentiments, which he utters in eloquent language; but of the true dignity, which Charles I., for instance, showed in the face of his enemies, he has none. The spirit of his father flares up in him, for a moment, when he is attacked by Exton and his small band of assassins; indeed, it may be said of Richard of Bordeaux, as has been said of many more weak-natured persons placed by fate in high positions:

" Nothing in his life
Became him like the leaving it."

Sympathy with such a character is surely insufficient to sustain the interest of a play so weak as this. It might have been better for dramatic purposes, but less true to nature, if Shakespeare had either ignored Richard's faults entirely, or had unscrupulously blackened Bolingbroke's character. That the latter ever intended anything else, in spite of his protestations and oaths, than seizing the kingdom for himself, no one can doubt, judging at least from what he says and does in this play; but one might have forgiven him that, if he had not thought fit to assume, with such ostentatious hypocrisy, consideration and respect for his lawful sovereign, whom he was resolved

to depose. Nor does one like Henry Bolingbroke any the better, because he plays that very old trick of ambitious men who hate their rivals, and yet have neither the courage nor the shamelessness—if one may call it so—openly to murder them, but drop cunning hints in the presence of those who they know will execute their intentions; and then, when the deed is done, and their enemy is out of their way, with a nauseous assumption of outraged virtue, they endeavour to wash their hands of blood-guiltiness.

Of the other characters in the play little need be said. Except the time-serving, plausible York, they are all more or less commonplace. Not a gleam of humour—no, not even in the character of the Gardener—serves to relieve the picture. To compare such a play as this with King John or Henry IV., or, indeed, with any of the other historical plays, except the first part of Henry VI., is an idle task. What is there in Richard II. that can touch the wonderful pathos of Constance; the admirable wit and audacity of the Bastard; the sardonic strength and titanic villainy of Richard III.; to say nothing of that masterpiece, Henry V., every page of which abounds in touches of genius which we look for in vain in this play?

Much emphasis has already been laid upon the political character of this play; and, perhaps, in estimating it as a dramatic work it is only fair to consider that Shakespeare, when compiling it from Holinshed, with or without the aid of an older play on the same subject, had in his mind more the writing of a political satire in a dramatic form, than the construction of a strong play from historical material. Although we have no letters, nor essays, nor journals of Shakespeare's—nothing but his poems and dramatic works, by which to read the history of his intellectual growth—yet we know that he must have been not only a close observer of human nature and life, but a patient gatherer of all materials at his command for the study of human character. The history of the reigns of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth must have been tolerably familiar to him, at least from oral tradition; and it is probable that, in writing Richard II. he was

KING RICHARD II.

thinking of those spasmodic conversions and convulsive attacks of loyalty, to which many statesmen and courtiers fell victims in those two reigns.

The character of York, certainly, when studied closely, excites our contempt and detestation; but it may be that, in the very gross inconsistencies which he displays—at one moment rebuking his sovereign with dignified courage for his many faults, the next accepting from that sovereign the very greatest position of trust as regent of the kingdom; betraying that trust shortly afterwards, at the same time that he launches stern rebukes against the rebel Bolingbroke; lost in admiration at the majestic appearance of his lawful sovereign in the midst of his misfortunes (iii. 3. 66–71), while making himself, shortly after, the complaisant bearer of that sovereign's unwilling resignation, and urging him, it would almost seem, to that dishonourable course; finally, throwing himself into a paroxysm of virtuous indignation because he finds his son has been plotting against the successful usurper; clamouring for the blood of that son, unmoved by the sight of the weeping mother who pleads

for his life, though that mother was his own wife:—it may be that, in this revolting monster of inconsistency, Shakespeare deliberately designed to draw a man whose moral character was so weakened by old age, or by inherent blemishes, that he was unable to make up his mind to be either a loyal subject, or an honest rebel. If we accept York as a political satire, and not as a dramatic character with whom we are supposed in any way to sympathize, we must admit that he is a very masterly creation, and one to whom it would be easy to find a parallel in more modern history. Certain it is that every one who has attempted to deal with Richard II. as a work for the stage, has felt it absolutely necessary to modify the character of York; because his inconsistencies, however true to nature, present most insuperable difficulties in actual representation on the stage.

If, therefore, we accept Richard II. as a political satire cast in a dramatic shape, we can give it very high praise; but, as a drama appealing to human sympathies and human passions, it can never take any high rank among its great author's works.



Mar. Stay, stay the king hath thrown his warder down — (Act I 3 118)

KING RICHARD II.

ACT I.

SCENE I. *A room in Windsor Castle.*

Enter KING RICHARD, JOHN OF GAUNT, with other Nobles and Attendants.

K. Rich. Old John of Gaunt, time-honour'd Lancaster,
Hast thou, according to thy oath and band,¹
Brought hither Henry Hereford thy bold son,
Here to make good the boist'rous late appeal,
Which then our leisure would not let us hear,
Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

Gaunt. I have, my liege.

K. Rich. Tell me, moreover, hast thou sounded him,
If he appeal² the duke on ancient malice;
Or worthily, as a good subject should, 10
On some known ground of treachery in him?

Gaunt. As near as I could sift him on that argument,—

On some apparent³ danger seen in him
Aim'd at your highness,—no inveterate malice.

¹ Band, bond.

² Appeal, impeach.

³ Apparent, manifest.

K. Rich. Then call them to our presence
face to face, 1
And frowning brow to brow, ourselves will hear

Th' accuser and the accused freely speak:

[*Exeunt some Attendants*
High-stomach'd are they both, and full of ire
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire.

Re-enter Attendants with BOLINGBROKE and NORFOLK.

Boling. May many years of happy days
befal 2
My gracious sovereign, my most loving liege!
Nor. Each day still better other's⁴ happiness;

Until the heavens, envying earth's good hap,
Add an immortal title to your crown!

K. Rich. We thank you both: yet one but flatters us,
As well appeareth by the cause you come;⁵
Namely, to appeal each other of high treason.—
Cousin of Hereford, what dost thou object

⁴ Other's, the other's.

⁵ Come, come on

Against the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mowbray?

Boling. First,—heaven be the record to my speech!— 30

In the devotion of a subject's love,
Tendering¹ the precious safety of my prince,
And free from other misbegotten hate,
Come I appellant to this princely presence.—
Now, Thomas Mowbray, do I turn to thee,
And mark my greeting well; for what I speak
My body shall make good upon this earth,
Or my divine soul answer it in heaven.
Thou art a traitor and a miscreant,
Too good to be so, and too bad to live; 40
Since the more fair and crystal is the sky,
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.
Once more, the more to aggravate the note,
With a foul traitor's name stuff I thy throat;
And wish,—so please my sovereign,—ere I move,
What my tongue speaks, my right-drawn²
sword may prove.

Nor. Let not my cold words here accuse my zeal:

['Tis not the trial of a woman's war,
The bitter clamour of two eager tongues,
Can arbitrate this cause betwixt us twain; 50
The blood is hot that must be cool'd for this:
Yet can I not of such tame patience boast
As to be hush'd and nought at all to say.]
First, the fair reverence of your highness
curbs me

From giving reins and spurs to my free speech;
Which else would post until it had return'd
These terms of treason doubled down his
throat.

Setting aside his high blood's royalty,—
And let him be no kinsman to my liege,—
I do defy him, and I spit at him; 60

Call him a slanderous coward and a villain:
Which to maintain I would allow him odds,

[And meet him, were I tied to run afoot
Even to the frozen ridges of the Alps,

Or any other ground uninhabitable,³

Where ever Englishman durst set his foot.

Mean time let this defend my loyalty,—

By all my hopes, most falsely doth he lie.]

Boling. [Throwing down his glove] Pale
trembling coward, there I throw my gage,
Disclaiming here the kindred of the king, 70
[And lay aside my high blood's royalty,
Which fear, not reverence, makes thee to ex-
cept.]

If guilty dread have left thee so much strength
As to take up mine honour's pawn,⁴ then stoop:
By that and all the rites of knighthood else,
Will I make good against thee, arm to arm,
What I have spoke, or thou canst worse
devise.

Nor. [Taking up the glove] I take it up; and
by that sword I swear,
Which gently laid my knighthood on my
shoulder,

I'll answer thee in any fair degree, 80
Or chivalrous design of knightly trial:
And when I mount, alive may I not light,⁵
If I be traitor or unjustly fight!

K. Rich. What doth our cousin lay to Mowbray's charge?

It must be great that can inherit us⁶
So much as of a thought of ill in him.

Boling. Look, what I speak, my life shall
prove it true;—

That Mowbray hath receiv'd eight thousand
nobles,

In name of lendings⁷ for your highness' soldiers,
The which he hath detain'd for lewd⁸ employ-
ments, 90

Like a false traitor and injurious villain.

Besides I say, and will in battle prove,—

[Or here, or elsewhere to the furthest verge {
That ever was survey'd by English eye,— }]

That all the treasons, for these eighteen years
Complotted and contrived in this land,
Fetch from false Mowbray their first head and
spring.

Further I say,—and further will maintain
Upon his bad life to make all this good,—

[That he did plot the Duke of Gloucester's death,
Suggest⁹ his soon-believing adversaries, 101

And consequently, like a traitor coward,
Slur'd out his innocent soul through streams
of blood :

⁴ Pawn, i.e. his gage, or glove which he had thrown down

⁵ Light, dismount

⁶ Inherit us, make us possess

⁷ Lendings, loans.

⁸ Lewd, wicked.

⁹ Suggest, prompt, set on.

¹ Tendering, cherishing.

² Right-drawn, drawn in a right cause.

³ Uninhabitable, i.e. uninhabitable



KING RICHARD II.

Act I. Scene I. Line 69.

Bolingbroke. Pale-trembling onward, there I throw my gaze.

Which blood, like sacrificing Abel's, cries, 104
Even from the tongueless caverns of the earth,
To me for justice and rough chastisement;]
And, by the glorious worth of my descent,
This arm shall do it, or this life be spent.

[*K. Rich.* How high a pitch his resolution
soars!

Thomas of Norfolk, what sayest thou to this?—
Nor. O, let my sovereign turn away his
face, 111

And bid his ears a little while be deaf,
Till I have told this slander¹ of his blood,
How God and good men hate so foul a liar!

K. Rich. Mowbray, impartial are our eyes
and ears:

Were he my brother, nay, my kingdom's heir,—
As he is but my father's brother's son,—
Now, by my sceptre's awe, I make a vow,
Such neighbour nearness to our sacred blood
Should nothing privilege him, nor partial-
ize² 120

The unstooping firmness of my upright soul.
He is our subject, Mowbray, so art thou:
Free speech and fearless I to thee allow.]

Nor. Then, Bolingbroke, as low as to thy
heart,

Through the false passage of thy throat, thou
liest.

Three parts of that receipt I had for Calais
Disburs'd I duly to his highness' soldiers;
The other part reserv'd I by consent,
For that my sovereign liege was in my debt
Upon remainder of a dear³ account, 130
Since last I went to France to fetch his queen:
Now swallow down that lie. For Gloster's
death,—

I slew him not; but to my own disgrace
Neglected my sworn duty in that case —
[For you, my noble Lord of Lancaster,
The honourable father to my foe,
Once did I lay an ambush for your life,
A trespass that doth vex my grieved soul;
But, ere I last receiv'd the sacrament,
I did confess it; and exactly⁴ begg'd 140
Your grace's pardon, and I hope I had it.]
This is my fault: as for the rest appeal'd,
It issues from the rancour of a villain,

A recreant and most degenerate traitor: 144
Which in myself I boldly will defend;
And interchangeably hurl down my gage
Upon this overweening traitor's foot,

[*Throws down his glove, which
Bolingbroke picks up.*

To prove myself a loyal gentleman
Even in the best blood chamber'd in his bosom.
In haste whereof, most heartily I pray 150
Your highness to assign our trial day.

K. Rich. Wrath-kindled gentlemen, be rul'd
by me;

Let's purge this choler without letting blood:

[This we prescribe, though no physician;
Deep malice makes too deep incision;]

Forget, forgive; conclude, and be agreed;
Our doctors say this is no month to bleed.—

(Good uncle, let this end where it begun;
We'll calm the Duke of Norfolk, you your
son.

Gaunt. To be a make-peace shall become
my age. 160

Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's
gage

K. Rich. And, Norfolk, throw down his.

[*Gaunt.* When, Harry, when?⁵
Obedience bids I should not bid again.

K. Rich. Norfolk, throw down, we bid; there
is no boot.⁶]

Nor. Myself I throw, dread sovereign, at
thy foot.

My life thou shalt command, but not my
shame:

[The one my duty owes; but my fair name,
That lives, despite of death, upon my grave,
To dark dishonour's use thou shalt not have.]
I am disgrac'd, impeach'd, and baffl'd⁷ here,
Pierc'd to the soul with slander's venom'd
spear, 171

[The which no balm can cure but his heart-
blood

Which breath'd this poison.

K. Rich. Rage must be withstood;—
Give me his gage:—Hons make leopards tame.

Nor. Yea, but not change his spots: take
but my shame,
And I resign my gage. My dear dear lord,]

¹ Slander here = slanderer, disgrace.

² Partialise, make partial.

³ Dear, precious.

⁴ Exactly, i.e. precisely; without omitting any detail.

⁵ When, here used as an expression of impatience.

⁶ There is no boot, there is no use (in refusing).

⁷ Baff'd (pronounced baffed), i.e. abused, reviled.

The purest treasure mortal times afford
Is spotless reputation: that away,
Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.
[A jewel in a ten-times barr'd-up chest 180
Is a bold spirit in a loyal breast.]
Mine honour is my life, both grow in one;
Take honour from me, and my life is done:
Then, dear my liege, mine honour let me try;
In that I live, and for that will I die.

K. Rich. Cousin, throw down your gage; do you begin.

Boling. O, God defend my soul from such foul sin!

Shall I seem crest-fall'n in my father's sight?
Or with pale beggar-fear impeach my height
Before this out-dar'd dastard? Ere my tongue
Shall wound my honour with such feeble
wrong, 191

Or sound so base a parle, my teeth shall tear
The slavish motive¹ of recanting fear,
And spit it bleeding in his high di grace,
Where shame doth harbour, even in Mow-
bray's face. [*Exit Gaunt.*]

K. Rich. We were not born to sue, but to command;

Which since we cannot do to make you friends,
Be ready, as your lives shall answer it,
At Coventry, upon St. Lambert's day: 199
There shall your swords and lances arbitrate
The swelling difference of your settled hate:

[Since we can not atone² you, we shall see
Justice design³ the victor's chivalry.]
Marshal, command our officers at arms
Be ready to direct these home alarms.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. *London. A room in the Duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy.*

Enter JOHN OF GAUNT with the DUCHESS OF GLOSTER.

Gaunt. Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's⁴ blood⁵

Doth more solicit me than your exclams,⁶
To stir against the butchers of his life!

¹ Motive, the tongue.

² Atone, reconcile

³ Design, show by a sign or token

⁴ Woodstock, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.

⁵ The part I had, &c., i.e. the relationship I bore to Gloucester.

⁶ Exclams, exclamations

But since correction lieth in those hands 4
Which made the fault that we cannot correct,
Put we our quarrel to the will of heaven;
Who, when they see the hours ripe on earth,
Will rain hot vengeance on offenders' heads.

Duch. Finds brotherhood in thee no sharper spur?

Hath love in thy old blood no living fire? 10
Edward's seven sons, whereof thyself art one,
Were as seven vials of his sacred blood,
Or seven fair branches springing from one
root:

Some of those seven are dri'd by nature's
course,

Some of those branches by the Destinies cut;
But Thomas, my dear lord, my life, my Glos-
ter,

One vial full of Edward's sacred blood,
One flourishing branch of his most royal
root,

Is crack'd, and all the precious liquor spilt,
Is hack'd down, and his summer leaves all
faded, 20

By envy's hand and murder's bloody axe.
Ah, Gaunt, his blood was thine! that bed, that
womb,

That metal, that self-mould, that fashion'd
thee,

Made him a man; and though thou liv'st and
breath'st,

Yet art thou slain in him: thou dost consent
In some large measure to thy father's death,
In that thou seest thy wretched brother die,
Who was the model⁷ of thy father's life.

Call it not patience, Gaunt; it is despair: 29
In suff'ring thus thy brother to be slaughter'd,
Thou show'st the naked pathway to thy life,
Teaching stern murder how to butcher thee:
That which in mean men we intitle patience,
Is pale cold cowardice in noble breasts.

What shall I say? to safeguard thine own
life,

The best way is—to venge my Gloucester's death.

Gaunt. God's is the quarrel; for God's sub-
stitute,

His deputy anointed in His sight,
Hath caus'd his death: the which if wrong-
fully,

⁷ Model, image.

Let heaven revenge; for I may never lift.⁴⁰
An angry arm against His minister.

Duch. Where then, alas, may I complain myself?¹

Gaunt. To God, the widow's champion and defence.

Duch. Why, then, I will. Farewell, old Gaunt.

Thou go'st to Coventry, there to behold
Our cousin Hereford and fell Mowbray fight:
O, sit my husband's wrongs on Hereford's
spear,

That it may enter butcher Mowbray's breast!
Or, if misfortune miss the first career,
Be Mowbray's sins so heavy in his bosom, so
That they may break his foaming courser's
back,

And throw the rider headlong in the lists,
A caittiff recreant to my cousin Hereford!
Farewell, old Gaunt: thy sometimes brother's
wife

With her companion grief must end her
life.

Gaunt. Sister, farewell; I must to Coventry:
As much good stay with thee as go with
me!

Duch. [Yet one word more: grief boundeth
where it falls,

Not with the empty hollowness, but weight:]
I take my leave before I have begun,⁶⁰
For sorrow ends not when it seemeth done.

Commend me to thy brother, Edmund York.
Lo, this is all:—nay, yet depart not so;

Though this be all, do not so quickly go;
I shall remember more. Bid him—ah, what?—
With all good speed at Plashy visit me.

Alack, and what shall good old York there
see,

But empty lodgings and unfurnish'd walls,
Unpeopled offices, untrodden stones?

And what hear there for welcome, but my
groans?⁷⁰

Therefore commend me; let him not come
there,

To seek out sorrow that dwells every where.
Desolate, desolate, will I hence and die:

The last leave of thee takes my weeping eye.

[*Exeunt.*]

¹ *Complain myself*, a French idiom—*me plaindre*.

SCENE III. Gosford Green, near Coventry.
Lists set out, and a throne. Herald, Attendants, &c.

*Enter the LORD MARSHAL and the DUKE OF
AUMERLE.*

Mar. My Lord Aumerle, is Harry Hereford
arm'd?

Aum. Yea, at all points; and longs to enter
in.

Mar. The Duke of Norfolk, sprightly and
bold,²

Stays but the summons of the appellant's
trumpet.

Aum. Why, then, the champions are pre-
par'd, and stay

For nothing but his majesty's approach.

*Flourish of trumpets. Enter KING RICHARD,
who takes his seat on the throne; GAUNT,
BUSHY, BAGOT, GREEN, and others, who take
their places. Then enter NORFOLK, defendant,
in armour, preceded by a Herald.*

K. Rich. Marshal, demand of yonder cham-
pion

The cause of his arrival here in arms:

Ask him his name; and orderly proceed

To swear him in the justice of his cause.¹⁰

Mar. In God's name and the king's, say
who thou art,

And why thou com'st thus knightly clad in
arms,

Against what man thou com'st, and what thy
quarrel:

Speak truly, on thy knighthood and thy oath;
As so defend thee heaven and thy valour!

Nor. My name is Thomas Mowbray, Duke
of Norfolk;

Who hither come, engaged by my oath,—
Which God defend a knight should violate!—

Both to defend my loyalty and truth

To God, my king, and my succeeding issue,²⁰

Against the Duke of Hereford that appeals me;

[And, by the grace of God and this mine arm,

To prove him, in defending of myself,

A traitor to my God, my king, and me:]

And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!

[*He takes his seat.*]

² *Bold* is here an adverb—boldly.

The trumpets sound. Enter BOLINGBROKE, appellant, in armour, preceded by a Herald.

K. Rich. Marshal, demand of yonder knight in arms,

Both who he is, and why he cometh hither
Thus plated¹ in habiliments of war;
And formally, according to our law,
Depose him² in the justice of his cause. 30

Mar. What is thy name? and wherefore com'st thou hither,

Before King Richard in his royal lists?
Against whom comest thou? and what's thy quarrel?

Speak like a true knight, so defend thee heaven!

Boling. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,

Am I; who ready here do stand in arms,
To prove, by God's grace and my body's valour,
In lists, on Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk,
That he's a traitor, foul and dangerous, 35
To God of heaven, King Richard, and to me;
And as I truly fight, defend me heaven!

[He takes his seat.]

Mar. On pain of death, no person be so bold,

Or daring-hardy, as to touch the lists,
Except the marshal, and such officers
Appointed to direct these fair designs.

Boling. Lord marshal, let me kiss my sovereign's hand,

And bow my knee before his majesty:
For Mowbray and myself are like two men
That vow a long and weary pilgrimage;
Then let us take a ceremonious leave 50
And loving farewell of our several friends.

Mar. The appellant in all duty greets your highness,
And craves to kiss your hand, and take his leave.

K. Rich. We will descend, and fold him in our arms.

[Flourish of trumpets. Bolingbroke rises, and kneels to the King.]

Cousin of Hereford, as thy cause is right,
So be thy fortune in this royal fight!

[Farewell, my blood;³ which if to-day thou shed,

Lament we may, but not revenge thee dead.

Boling. O, let no noble eye profane a tear
For me, if I be gor'd with Mowbray's spear:]

As confident as is the falcon's flight 51

Against a bird, do I with Mowbray fight.—

[To Lord Marshal] My loving lord, I take my leave of you;—

Of you, my noble cousin, Lord Aumerle;

[Not sick, although I have to do with death,
But lusty, young, and cheerily drawing breath.—

Lo, as at English feasts, so I regret⁴

The daintiest last, to make the end most sweet:]

[To Gaunt] O thou, the earthly author of my blood,—

[Whose youthful spirit, in me regenerate, 70
Doth with a two-fold vigour lift me up
To reach at victory above my head,—]

Add proof unto mine armour with thy prayers;

And with thy blessings steel my lance's point,

[That it may enter Mowbray's waxen⁵ coat,

And furbish new the name of John o' Gaunt,

Even in the lusty haviour of his son.]

Gaunt. God in thy good cause make thee prosperous!

[Be swift like lightning in the execution;
And let thy blows, doubly redoubled,⁶ 80

Fall like amazing thunder on the casque

Of thy adverse pernicious enemy:]

Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valiant, live!

Boling. Mine innocency and Saint George to thrive!⁷ *[He takes his seat.]*

Nor. *[Kneeling to the King]* However God

or fortune cast my lot,

There lives or dies, true to King Richard's throne,

A loyal, just, and upright gentleman:

[Never did captive with a freer heart

Cast off his chains of bondage, and embrace

His golden uncontroll'd enfranchisement, 85

More than my dancing soul doth celebrate

This feast of battle with mine adversary.—]

Most mighty liege,—and my companion peers,—

¹ My blood, my blood-relation

² Regret, salute.

³ Waxen, penetrable as wax.

⁴ Redoubled, pronounced redounded, as a quadrasyllable.

⁵ To thrive—make me to thrive or succeed.

¹ Plated, clad in plated armour.

² Depose him, take his evidence or deposition.

Take from my mouth the wish of happy years;
As gentle and as jocund as to jest 95
Or I to fight; truth hath a quiet breast.
K. Rich. Farewell, my lord: securely¹ I espy
Virtue with valour couch'd in thine eye.—
Order the trial, marshal, and begin.

[*Flourish of trumpets. The King and the Lords return to their seats, and the Combatants mount their horses.*]

Mar. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby, 100
Receive thy lance; and God defend the right!
Boling. Strong as a tower in hope, I cry
amen.

Mar. [*To an Officer*] Go bear this lance to
Thomas, Duke of Norfolk.

First Her. Harry of Hereford, Lancaster,
and Derby,
Stands here for God, his sovereign, and him-
self,

On pain to be found false and recreant,
To prove the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Mow-
bray,

A traitor to his God, his king, and him;
And dares him to set forward to the fight.

Sec. Her. Here standeth Thomas Mowbray,
Duke of Norfolk, 110

On pain to be found false and recreant,
Both to defend himself, and to approve²
Henry of Hereford, Lancaster, and Derby,
To God, his sovereign, and to him disloyal;
[Courageously, and with a free desire,
Attending³ but the signal to begin.]

Mar. Sound, trumpets; and set forward,⁴
combatants. [*A charge sounded.*]
Stay, stay, the king hath thrown his warder⁵
down.

K. Rich. Let them lay by their helmets and
their spears, 119
And both return back to their chairs again:—
[*To the Lords*] Withdraw with us: and let the
trumpets sound

While⁶ we return⁶ these dukes what we decree.
[*A long flourish. The Combatants dis-
mount, and resume their chairs.*]
Draw near, [*To the Combatants*]

And list what with our council we have done.
For that⁷ our kingdom's earth should not be
sold⁸

With that dear blood which it hath fostered;
And for⁹ our eyes do hate the dire aspect
Of civil wounds plough'd up with neighbours'
swords;

[And for⁹ we think the eagle-winged pride
Of sky-aspiring and ambitious thoughts, 120
With rival-hating envy, set on you
To wake our peace, which in our country's
cradle

Draws the sweet infant breath of gentle sleep;
Which so rous'd up with boisterous untun'd
drums,

With harsh-resounding trumpets' dreadful
bray,

And grating shock of wrathful iron arms,
Might from our quiet confines fright fair
peace,

And make us wade even in our kindred's
blood;]

Therefore, we banish you our territories.—
You, cousin Hereford, upon pain of life, 140
Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields
Shall not regret our fair dominions,
But tread the stranger paths of banishment.

Boling. Your will be done: this must my
comfort be,—

That sun that warms you here shall shine on
me;

And those his golden beams to you here lent
Shall point on me and gild my banishment.

K. Rich. Norfolk, for thee remains a heavier
doom,

Which I with some unwillingness pronounce:
The fly-slow hours shall not determinate 150
The dateless limit of thy dear¹⁰ exile;
The hopeless word of—"never to return"
Breathe I against thee, upon pain of life.

Nor. A heavy sentence, my most sovereign
liege,

And all unlook'd for from your highness'
mouth:

[A dearer merit,¹⁰ not so deep a maim
As to be cast forth in the common air,
Have I deserved at your highness' hands.]

¹ Securely, certainly, surely

² Approve, prove. ³ Attending, awaiting.

⁴ Warden, the truncheon carried by the king

⁵ While, until. ⁶ Return, report to.

⁷ For that, in order that.
⁸ Dear here=heart-paining.

⁹ For, because.
¹⁰ Merit, reward.

The language I have learn'd these forty years,
 My native English, now I must forego: 180
 And now my tongue's use is to me no more
 Than an unstringed viol or a harp,
 { Or like a cunning instrument cas'd up,
 { Or, being open, put into his hands
 { That knows no touch to tune the harmony:
 { Within my mouth you have engaol'd¹ my
 { tongue,
 { Doubly portcullis'd with my teeth and lips;
 { And dull unfeeling barren ignorance
 { Is made my goler to attend on me.
 { I am too old to fawn upon a nurse, 170
 { Too far in years to be a pupil now:]

What is thy sentence then but speechless
 death,
 Which robs my tongue from breathing native
 breath?

{ [K. Rich. It boots thee not to be compas-
 { sionate:]²

{ After our sentence plaining comes too late.

{ Nor.] Then thus I turn me from my coun-
 { try's light,

To dwell in solemn shades of endless night.

[Going.

K. Rich. Return again, and take an oath
 with thee. [Norfolk returns to King.

Lay on our royal sword your banish'd hands;
 Swear by the duty that you owe to God, — 180
 Our part therein³ we banish with yourselves,—
 To keep the oath that we administer:
 You never shall,—so help you truth and
 God!—

Embrace each other's love in banishment;
 Nor never look upon each other's face;
 Nor never write, regret,⁴ nor reconcile
 This luring tempest of your home-bred hate;
 Nor never by advised⁵ purpose meet
 To plot, contrive, or complot any ill 180
 'Gainst us, our state, our subjects, or our land.

Boling. I swear.

Nor. And I, to keep all this.

{ Boling. [Norfolk, so far as to mine enemy:—
 { By this time, had the king permitted us,
 { One of our souls had wander'd in the air,

¹ Engaol'd, imprisoned

² To be compassionate, to appeal to compassion.

³ Our part therein, i.e. the duty or allegiance you owe to us.

⁴ Regret, salute one another.

⁵ Advised, concerted

this frail sepulchre of our flesh,
 As now our flesh is banish'd from this land:]
 Confess thy treasons ere thou fly⁶ the realm.
 Since thou hast far to go, bear not along
 The clogging burthen of a guilty soul. 200
 Nor. No, Bolingbroke: if ever I were traitor,
 My name be blotted from the book of life,
 And I from heaven banish'd, as from hence!
 But what thou art, God, thou, and I do
 know;
 And all too soon, I fear, the king shall rue.—
 Farewell, my liege.—Now no way can I stray;
 Save back to England, all the world's my way.

[Exit.

K. Rich. Uncle, even in the glasses of thine
 eyes

I see thy grieved heart: thy sad aspect 209
 Hath from the number of his banish'd years
 Pluck'd four away. [To Bolingbroke] Six
 frozen winters spent,

Return with welcome home from banishment.

Boling. How long a time lies in one little
 word!

Four lagging winters and four wanton springs
 End in a word: such is the breath of kings.

Gaunt. I thank my liege, that in regard of
 me

He shortens four years of my son's exile:
 But little vantage shall I reap thereby;
 For, ere the six years that he hath to spend
 Can change their moons and bring their times
 about, 220

My oil-dri'd lamp and time-bewasted light
 Shall be extinct with age and endless night;
 [My inch of taper will be burnt and done,
 And blindfold death not let me see my son.

K. Rich. Why, uncle, thou hast many years
 to live.

Gaunt. But not a minute, king, that thou
 canst give:

Shorten my days thou canst with sullen sorrow,
 And pluck nights from me, but not lend a
 morrow;

Thou canst help time to furrow me with age,
 But stop no wrinkle in his pilgrimage; 230
 Thy word is current with him for my death,
 But dead, thy kingdom cannot buy my
 breath.]

K. Rich. Thy son is banish'd upon good
 advice,

Whereto thy tongue a party-verdict¹ gave?
Why at our justice seem'st thou then to
lour? 235

[*Gaunt*. Things sweet to taste prove in digestion sour.

You urg'd me as a judge; but I had rather
You would have bid me argue like a father.

O, had it been a stranger, not my child,
To smooth² his fault I should have been more
mild:

A partial slander³ sought I to avoid, 241
And in the sentence my own life destroy'd.
Alas, I look'd when some of you should say,
I was too strict to make mine own away;



Gaunt. O, to what purpose dost thou hoard thy words,
That thou return'st no greeting to thy friends?—(Act I. 3. 233, 234.)

{But you gave leave to my unwilling tongue
Against my will to do myself this wrong.

{*K. Rich.*] Cousin, farewell;—and, uncle,
bid him so:

Six years we banish him, and he shall go.

[*Flourish*. *Exeunt King Richard and train.*

Alm. Cousin, farewell: what presence⁴ must
not know, 249

From where you do remain let paper show.

Mar. My lord, no leave take I; for I will
ride, 251

As far as land will let me, by your side.

Gaunt. O, to what purpose dost thou hoard
thy words,

That thou return'st no greeting to thy friends?

Boling. I have too few to take my leave of
you,

When the tongue's office should be prodigal
To breathe th' abundant dolour of the heart.

[*Gaunt*. Thy grief is but thy absence for a time.
Boling. Joy absent, grief is present for that
time.

¹ *Party-verdict*, a verdict in which he took part.

² To smooth, to palliate.

³ A partial slander, i.e. a reproach of partiality.

⁴ Presence, personal interviews.

Gaunt. What is six winters? they are quickly gone. 280

Boling. To men in joy; but grief makes one hour ten.

Gaunt. Call it a travel¹ that thou tak'st for pleasure.

Boling. My heart will sigh when I miscall it so,

Which finds it an enforced pilgrimage.

Gaunt. The sullen passage of thy weary steps

Esteem as foil, wherein thou art to set

The precious jewel of thy home-return.

Boling. Nay, rather, every tedious stride I make

Will but remember me what a deal of world²

I wander from the jewels that I love. 270

Must I not serve a long apprenticeship

To foreign passages; and in the end,

Having my freedom, boast of nothing else

But that I was a journeyman to grief?

Gaunt. All places that the eye of heaven visits

Are to a wise man ports and happy havens.

Teach thy necessity to reason thus;

There is no virtue like necessity.

Think not the king did banish thee, 279

But thou the king: woe doth the heavier sit,

Where it perceives it is but faintly borne.

[Go, say,—I sent thee forth to purchase³ honour,

And not—the king exil'd thee; or suppose

Devouring pestilence hangs in our air,

And thou art flying to a fresher clime:

Look, what thy soul holds dear, imagine it

To lie that way thou go'st, not whence thou com'st:

Suppose the singing-birds musicians,

The grass whereon thou tread'st the presence⁴ strew'd, 280

The flowers fair ladies, and thy steps no more

Than a delightful measure or a dance;]

For gnarling⁵ sorrow hath less power to bite

The man that mocks at it and sets it light.⁶

Boling. O, who can hold a fire in his hand
By thinking on the frosty Caucasus?

Or cloy the hungry edge of appetite

By bare imagination of a feast?

Or wallow naked in December snow

By thinking on fantastic⁷ summer's heat?

O, no! the apprehension⁸ of the good 300

Gives but the greater feeling to the worse:

Fell sorrow's tooth doth never rankle more

Than when he bites, but lanceth not the sore.

Gaunt. Come, come, my son, I'll bring⁹ thee
on thy way:

Had I thy youth and cause, I would not stay.

Boling. Then, England's ground, farewell;
sweet soil, adieu;

My mother, and my nurse, that bears me yet!

Where'er I wander, boast of this I can, 308

Though banish'd, yet a true-born Englishman.

[*Exeunt.*]

[SCENE IV. *Coventry. A room in the King's castle.*

Enter from one side KING RICHARD, BAGOT,
and GREEN; *from the other the* DUKE OF
AUMERLE.

K. Rich. We did observe.—Cousin Aumerle,
How far brought you high Hereford on his
way?

Aum. I brought high Hereford, if you call
him so,

But to the next highway, and there I left him.

K. Rich. And say, what store of parting
tears were shed?

Aum. Faith, none for me;¹⁰ except the north-
east wind,

Which then blew bitterly against our faces,
Awak'd the sleeping rheum, and so by chance
Did grace our hollow parting with a tear.

K. Rich. What said our cousin when you
parted with him? 10

Aum. "Farewell."

And, for¹¹ my heart disdained that my tongue
Should so profane the word, that taught me
craft

To counterfeit oppression of such grief,
That words seem'd buried in my sorrow's grave.

¹ A travel, i.e. a journey: there is probably some pun intended on the words *travel* and *travail*.

² What a deal of world, i.e. what a long distance.

³ Purchase, acquire. ⁴ Presence, presence-chamber.

⁵ Gnarling, growling.

⁶ Sets it light, makes light of it.

⁷ Fantastic, i.e. that exists only in fancy.

⁸ Apprehension, imagination. ⁹ Bring, accompany.

¹⁰ For me, on my part.

¹¹ For, because.

{ Marry, would the word "farewell" have
lengthen'd hours *

{ And added years to his short banishment,
He should have had a volume of "farewells;"
{ But since it would not, he had none of me.

K. Rich. He is our cousin, cousin; but 't is
doubt,¹ 20

{ When time shall call him home from banish-
ment,

{ Whether our kinsman come to see his friends,
Ourselves and Bushy, Bagot here, and Green,

{ Observ'd his courtship to the common people;
How he did seem to dive into their hearts

{ With humble and familiar courtesy;

{ What reverence he did throw away on slaves;

{ Wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of
smiles,

{ And patient underbearing² of his fortune,

{ As 't were to banish their affects with him. 30

{ Off goes his bonnet to an oyster-wench;

{ A brace of draymen bid God speed him well,

{ And had the tribute of his supple knee,

{ With "Thanks, my countrymen, my loving
friends;"

{ As were our England in reversion his,

{ And he our subjects' next degree in hope.

{ *Green.* Well, he is gone; and with him go
these thoughts.—

{ Now for the rebels which stand out in Ire-
land,—

{ Expedient³ manage⁴ must be made, my liege,

{ Ere further leisure yield them further means

{ For their advantage and your highness' loss. 41

K. Rich. We will ourselves in person to this
war: 42

{ And, for⁵ our coffers, with too great a court
And liberal largess, are grown somewhat light,

{ We are enforc'd to farm our royal realm;

{ The revenue whereof shall furnish us

{ For our affairs in hand: if that come short,

{ Our substitutes at home shall have blank char-
ters;

{ Whereunto, when they shall know what men are
rich,

{ They shall subscribe them for large sums of
gold, 50

{ And send them after to supply our wants;

{ For we will make for Ireland presently.

Enter Bushy.

Bushy, what news?

Bushy. Old John of Gaunt is grievous sick,
my lord,

{ Suddenly taken; and hath sent post haste
To entreat your majesty to visit him.

K. Rich. Where lies he?

Bushy. At Ely House.

K. Rich. Now put it, God, in the physician's
mind

{ To help him to his grave immediately! 60

{ The lining of his coffers shall make coats

{ To deck our soldiers for these Irish wars.—

{ Come, gentlemen, let's all go visit him:

{ Pray God we may make haste, and come too
late!

All. Amen.

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT II.

SCENE I. *London. A room in Ely House,
Holborn.*

JOHN OF GAUNT sick on couch; the DUKE OF
YORK, EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND, and
others standing by him.

Gaunt. Will the king come, that I may
breathe my last

In wholesome counsel to his unstaïd⁶ youth?

¹ Doubt, matter of doubt. ² Underbearing, enduring.

³ Expedient, expeditious

⁴ Manage, management; settled plans. ⁵ For, because.

York. Vex not yourself, nor strive not with
your breath; 3

For all in vain comes counsel to his ear.

Gaunt. O, but they say the tongues of dying
men

Enforce attention like deep harmony:

[Where words are scarce, they are seldom,
spent in vain,

For they breathe truth that breathe their
words in pain.

⁶ Unstaïd, fickle.

{ He that no more must say is listen'd more
 { Than they whom youth and ease have taught
 { to glose;¹ 10

{ More are men's ends mark'd than their lives
 { before:

{ The setting sun, and music at the close,²
 { As the last taste of sweets, is sweetest last,
 { Writ in remembrance more than things long
 { past:]

{ Though Richard my life's counsel would not
 { hear,

{ My death's sad tale may yet undeaf his ear.³
 { York. No; it is stopp'd with other flatt'ring
 { sounds,

{ [A⁴,⁴ praises of his state: then there are found
 { lascivious metres, to whose venom sound
 { The open ear of youth doth always listen; 20
 { Report of fashions in proud Italy,
 { Whose manners still our tardy apish nation
 { Limpers after in base imitation.

{ Where doth the world thrust forth a vanity,—
 { So be it new, there's no respect⁵ how vile,—
 { That is not quickly buzz'd⁶ into his ears?]

{ Then all too late comes counsel to be heard,
 { Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.⁷

{ [Direct not him whose way himself will choose:
 { 'Tis breath thou lack'st, and that breath wilt
 { thou lose.] 30

{ Gaunt. Methinks I am a prophet new
 { inspir'd,

{ And thus, expiring, do foretell of him:
 { His rash fierce blaze of riot cannot last,
 { For violent fires soon burn out themselves;

{ [Small showers last long, but sudden storms
 { are short;

{ He tires betimes that spurs too fast betimes;
 { Witheager feeding food doth choke the feeder:]

{ Light vanity, insatiate cormorant,
 { Consuming means, soon preys upon itself.

{ This royal throne of kings, this scepter'd isle,
 { This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars, 41

{ This other Eden, demi-paradise,
 { This fortress built by Nature for herself

{ Against infection and the hand of war;
 { This happy breed of men, this little world;

{ This precious stone set in the silver sea,
 { Which serves it in the office of a wall,
 { Or as a moat defensive to a house,
 { Against the envy⁸ of less happier lands;
 { This blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this
 { England, 50

{ [This nurse, this teeming womb of royal kings,
 { Fear'd by⁹ their breed and famous by⁹ their
 { birth,

{ Renowned for their deeds as far from home,—
 { For Christian service and true chivalry,—

{ As is the sepulchre in stubborn Jewry,
 { Of the world's ransom, blessed Mary's Son;—

{ This land of such dear souls, this dear dear
 { land,]

{ Dear for her reputation through the world,
 { Is now leas'd out—I die pronouncing it—

{ Like to a tenement, or pelting¹⁰ farm: 60

{ [England, bound in with the triumphant sea,
 { Whose rocky shore beats back the envious
 { siege

{ Of watery Neptune, 's now bound in with
 { shame,

{ With inky blots, and rotten parchment bonds:]
 { That England, that was wont to conquer
 { others,

{ Hath made a shameful conquest of itself.
 { Ah, would the scandal vanish with my life,
 { How happy then were my ensuing death!

{ Enter KING RICHARD and QUEEN, AUMERLE,
 { BUSHY, GREEN, BAGOT, ROSS, and WIL-
 { LOUGHBY.

{ York. The king is come: deal mildly with
 { his youth;

{ For young hot colts, being rag'd,¹¹ do rage the
 { more. 70

{ Queen. How fares our noble uncle, Lan-
 { caster?

{ K. Rich. What comfort, man? how is't with
 { aged Gaunt?

{ Gaunt. [O, how that name befits my compo-
 { sition!]¹²

{ Old Gaunt indeed, and gaunt in being old:
 { Within me grief hath kept a tedious fast;

{ And who abstains from meat, that is not gaunt?
 { For sleeping England long time have I watch'd;

¹ To glose, to flatter

² Close, cadence.

³ Undeaf his ear, make his ear no longer deaf. #

⁴ As—namely ⁵ There's no respect, i.e. no one cares.

⁶ Buzz'd, whispered

⁷ Wit's regard, the view of the intellect.

⁸ Envy=malice.

⁹ By=on account of.

¹⁰ Pelting, paltry.

¹¹ Rag'd, aggravated, provoked.

¹² Composition, bodily state.

Watching breeds leanness, leanness is all gaunt:

{The pleasure that some fathers feed upon, 79
{Is my strict fast,—I mean, my children's looks;
{And therein fasting, hast thou made me gaunt:
Gaunt am I for the grave, gaunt as a grave,
Whose hollow womb inherits¹ nought but bones.

K. Rich. Can sick men play so nicely² with their names?

Gaunt. No, misery makes sport to mock itself:

Since thou dost seek to kill my name in me,
I mock my name, great king, to flatter thee.

K. Rich. Should dying men flatter with those that live?

{*Gaunt.* No, no, men living flatter those that die.

K. Rich. Thou, now a dying, say'st thou flatter'st me. 90

Gaunt. O, no! thou diest, though I the sicker be.

K. Rich. I am in health, I breathe, and see thee ill.

Gaunt. Now He that made me knows I see thee ill;]

Ill in myself to see, and in thee seeing ill.
Thy death-bed is no lesser than thy land
Wherein thou liest in reputation sick;
And thou, too careless patient as thou art,
Committ'st thy anointed body to the cure
Of those physicians that first wounded thee:
A thousand flatterers sit within thy crown, 100
Whose compass is no bigger than thy head;

{[And yet, incaged in so small a verge,
{The waste is no whit lesser than thy land.]

O, had thy grandsire, with a prophet's eye,
Seen how his son's son should destroy his sons,
From forth thy reach he would have laid thy shame,

Deposing thee before thou wert possess'd,
{[Which art possess'd³ now to depose thyself.
{Why, cousin, wert thou regent of the world,
{It were a shame to let this land by lease; 110
{But for thy world enjoying but this land,
{Is it not more than shame to shame it so?]
Landlord of England art thou now, not king:

Thy state of law⁴ is bondslave to the law; 114
And thou—

K. Rich. [Pointing at Gaunt] A lunatic lean-witted fool,

Presuming on an ague's privilege,
Dar'st with thy frozen admonition
Make pale our cheek, chasing the royal blood,
With fury, from his native residence.

Now, by my seat's right royal majesty, 120
Wert thou not brother to great Edward's son,⁵
This tongue that runs so roundly⁶ in thy head
Should run thy head from thy unreverent shoulders.

Gaunt. O, spare me not, my brother Edward's son,

For that I was his father Edward's son;—

[That blood already, like the pelican, }
Hast thou tapp'd out, and drunkenly carous'd:
My brother Gloster, p'ain well-meaning soul,—
Whom fair befall in heaven 'mongst happy souls!—

May be a precedent and witness good 130
That thou respect'st not⁷ spilling Edward's blood:]

Join with the present sickness that I have;
And thy unkindness be like crooked age,
To crop at once a too long wither'd flower.
Live in thy shame, but die not shame with thee!

These words hereafter thy tormentors be!—
Convey me to my bed, then to my grave:
Love they⁸ to live that love and honour have.

[*Gaunt* is borne off on couch by Attendants,
followed by Northumberland.

K. Rich. And let them die that age and sul-lens have;

For both hast thou, and both become the grave.

York. Beseech your majesty, impute his words 141

To wayward sickliness and age in him:
He loves you, on my life, and holds you dear
As Harry Duke of Hereford, were he here.

K. Rich. Right, you say true: as Hereford's love, so his;

As theirs, so mine; and all be as it is.

⁴ State of law, legal status or condition.

⁵ Great Edward's son, i.e. the Black Prince, Richard's father.

⁶ Roundly, without check.

⁷ Respect'st not, heedest not

⁸ Love they, i.e. let them love.

¹ Inherits, possesses, contains ² Nicely, fancifully
³ Possess'd, mad, possessed by a devil: there is a play upon the word possess'd.

* *Re-enter* NORTHUMBERLAND.

North. My liege, old Gaunt commends him
to your majesty. 147

K. Rich. What says he?

North. Nay, nothing; all is said:
His tongue is now a stringless instrument;
Words, life, and all, old Lancaster hath spent.

York. Be York the next that must be bank-
rupt so! 151
Though death be poor, it ends a mortal
woe.

K. Rich. The ripest fruit first falls, and so
doth he;

His time is spent, our pilgrimage must be.¹
So much for that.—Now for our Irish wars:



Gaunt Convey me to my bed, then to my grave.
Love they to live that love and honour have —(Act II 1 137, 138)

We must supplant those rough rug-headed²
kerns,³
Which live like venom, where no venom else,
But only they have privilege to live.
And for⁴ these great affairs do ask some charge,
Towards our assistance we do seize to us 160
The plate, coin, revenues, and moveables,
Whereof our uncle Gaunt did stand possess'd.

[*York.* How long shall I be patient? ah,
how long
Shall tender duty make me suffer wrong?
Not Gloster's death, nor Hereford's banish-
ment,
Not Gaunt's rebukes, nor England's private
wrongs,
Nor the prevention of poor Bolingbroke
About his marriage, nor my own disgrace,
Have ever made me sour my patient cheek,

Or bend one wrinkle on my sovereign's face.—
I am the last of noble Edward's sons, 171
Of whom thy father, Prince of Wales, was first:
In war was never lion rag'd more fierce,
In peace was never gentle lamb more mild,
Than was that young and princely gentleman.
His face thou hast, for even so look'd he,
Accomplish'd with the number of thy hours;
But when he frown'd, it was against the
French,
And not against his friends; his noble hand 179
Did win what he did spend, and spent not that
Which his triumphant father's hand had won;
His hands were guilty of no kindred blood,
But bloody with the enemies of his kin.
O Richard! York is too far gone with grief,
Or else he never would compare between.

K. Rich. Why, uncle, what's the matter?]

York. O my liege,
Pardon me, if you please; if not, I, pleas'd
Not to be pardon'd, am content withal.

¹ Must be, is yet to come

² Rug-headed, rough-headed.

³ Kerns, light-armed foot-soldiers

⁴ For, because.

Seek you to seize and gripe into your hands 189
The royalties and rights of banish'd Hereford?
Is not Gaunt dead, and doth not Hereford live?

[Was not Gaunt just, and is not Harry true?
Did not the one deserve to have an heir?

Is not his heir a well-deserving son?

Take Hereford's rights away, and take from
Time

His charters and his customary rights;

Let not to-morrow, then, ensue¹ to-day;

Be not thyself; for how art thou a king

But by fair sequence and succession? 199

Now, afore God—God forbid I say true!—]

If you do wrongfully seize Hereford's rights,

[Call in the letters patents that he hath

By his attorneys-general to sue

His livery, and deny his offer'd homage,]

You pluck a thousand dangers on your head,

You lose a thousand well-disposed hearts,

And prick² my tender patience to those thoughts

Which honour and allegiance cannot think.

K. Rich. Think what you will, we seize into
our hands

His plate, his goods, his money, and his lands.

York. I'll not be by the while: my liege,
farewell: 211

What will ensue hereof, there's none can tell;

[But by³ bad courses may be understood

That their events can never fall out good.]

[*Exit.*

K. Rich. Go, Bushy, to the Earl of Wilt-
shire straight:

Bid him repair to us to Ely House

To see⁴ this business. To-morrow next

We will for Ireland; and 'tis time, I trow:

And we create, in absence of ourself, 219

Our uncle York lord governor of England;

For he is just, and always lov'd us well.—

Come on, our queen: to-morrow must we
part;

Be merry, for our time of stay is short.

[*Flourish. Exeunt King, Queen, Aumerle,*

Bushy, Green, and Bagot.

[*North.* Well, lords, the Duke of Lancaster
is dead.]

Ross. And living too; for now his son is
duke.

Willo. Barely⁵ in title, not in revenue.

North. Richly in both, if justice had her
right.

Ross. My heart is great; but it must break
with silence,

Ere't be disburden'd with a liberal⁶ tongue.

North. Nay, speak thy mind; and let him
ne'er speak more 280

That speaks thy words again to do thee harm!

Willo. Tends that thou'dst speak to the
Duke of Hereford?

If it be so, out with it boldly, man;

Quick is mine ear to hear of good towards
him.

Ross. No good at all that I can do for him;
Unless you call it good to pity him,

Bereft and gelded of his patrimony.]

North. Now, afore God, 'tis shame such
wrongs are borne

[In him, a royal prince, and many moe
Of noble blood in this declining land.] 240

The king is not himself, but basely led

By flatterers; and what they will inform,

Merely in hate, 'gainst any of us all,

That will the king severely prosecute

'Gainst us, our lives, our children, and our
heirs.

[*Ross.* The commons hath he pill'd⁷ with
grievous taxes,

And lost their hearts: the nobles hath he
fin'd

For ancient quarrels, and quite lost their
hearts.

Willo. And daily new exactions are devis'd,
As blanks,⁸ benevolences,—I wot not what: 250

But what, o' God's name, doth become of this?

North. Wars have not wasted it, for warr'd
he hath not,

But basely yielded upon compromise

That which his ancestors achiev'd with blows:

More hath he spent in peace than they in
wars.

Ross. The Earl of Wiltshire hath the realm
in farm.]

Willo. The king's grown bankrupt, like a
broken man.

⁵ Barely, only.

⁶ Liberal, free, unfettered.

⁷ Pill'd, pillaged.

⁸ Blanks, promises to pay certain contributions, the
amount being left in blank.

¹ Ensue, follow.

² Prick, spur, incite.

³ By, concerning.

⁴ To see, to look to.

North. Reproach and dissolution hangeth
o'er him.

Ross. He hath not money for these Irish
wars, 259

His burthenous taxations notwithstanding,
But by the robbing of the banish'd duke.

North. His noble kinsman : most degenerate
king!

But, [lords, we hear this fearful tempest
sing,

Yet seek no shelter to avoid the storm ;

We see the wind sit sore upon our sails,

And yet we strike¹ not, but securely² perish.

Ross. We see the very wreck that we must
suffer ;

And unavoided³ is the danger now,

For suffering so the causes of our wreck.

North. Not so ;] even through the hollow
eyes of death 270

I spy life peering ; but I dare not say

How near the tidings of our comfort is.

Will. Nay, let us share thy thoughts, as
thou dost ours.

Ross. Be confident to speak, Northumber-
land :

We three are but thyself ; and, speaking so,
Thy words are but as thoughts ; therefore, be
bold.

North. Then thus : I have from Port le
Blanc, a bay

In Brittany, received intelligence

That Harry Duke of Hereford, [Rainold Lord
Cobham,

[The son of Richard, Earl of Arundel] 280

That late broke from the Duke of Exeter,

His brother, Archbishop late of Canterbury,

Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir Thomas Ram-
ston,

John Norbury, Robert Waterton, and Francis
Coint,

All these] well furnish'd by the Duke of
Bretagne

With eight tall ships, three thousand men of
war,

Are making hither with all due expedience,⁴

And shortly mean to touch our northern shore :

¹ Strike, i.e. strike or lower our sails.

² Securely, i.e. in our false security.

³ Unavoided, unavoidable.

⁴ Expedience, expedition.

[Perhaps they had ere this, but that they
stay⁵ 289

The first departing of the king for Ireland.]

If then we shall shake off our slavish yoke,

[Imp out⁶ our drooping country's broken
wing,

Redeem from broking pawn⁷ the blemish'd
crown,

Wipe off the dust that hides our sceptre's gilt,
And make high majesty look like itself,]

Away with me in post to Ravenspurgh ;

But if you faint,⁸ as fearing to do so,

Stay and be secret, and myself will go

Ross. To horse, to horse ! urge doubts to
them that fear.

Will. Hold out my horse,⁹ and I will first
be there. [Exeunt. 300

SCENE II. A room in Windsor Castle.

Enter QUEEN, BUSHY, and BAGOT.

Bushy. Madam, your majesty is too much
sad :

You promis'd, when you parted with the king,
To lay aside life-harming heaviness,
And entertain¹⁰ a cheerful disposition.¹¹

Queen. To please the king, I did ; to please
myself,

I cannot do it ; yet I know no cause

Why I should welcome such a guest as grief,
Save bidding farewell to so sweet a guest

As my sweet Richard : yet again, methinks,

Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb,

Is coming to 'rads me, and my inward soul

With nothing trembles : at some thing it
grieves, 12

More than with parting from my lord the
king.

Bushy. Each substance of a grief hath twenty
shadows,

Which¹² shows¹³ like grief itself, but is not so ;

[For sorrow's eye, glazed with blinding tears,
Divides one thing entire to many objects ;]

⁵ Stay, await.

⁶ Imp out, repair.

⁷ Broking pawn, the pawnbroker.

⁸ Faint, are faint-hearted.

⁹ Hold out my horse, if my horse hold out.

¹⁰ Entertain, maintain

¹¹ Disposition, mood.

¹² Which = each of which.

¹³ Shows, looks.

Like perspectives, which rightly¹ gaz'd upon
Show nothing but confusion,—ey'd awry
Distinguish form: so your sweet majesty, 20
Looking awry upon your lord's departure,
Finds shapes of grief, more than himself, to
wail;
Which, look'd on as it is, is nought but
shadows
Of what it is not.] Then, thrice-gracious
queen,

More than your lord's departure weep not:
more's not seen; 25
Or if it be, 't is with false sorrow's eye,
Which for things true weeps things imaginary.
Queen. It may be so; but yet my inward
soul
Persuades me it is otherwise: howe'er it be,
I cannot but be sad; so heavy sad, 30
As,—though, on thinking, on no thought I
think,—



Queen. I cannot but be sad —(Act II 2 30)

Makes me with heavy nothing faint and shrink

[*Bushy.* 'T is nothing but conceit,² my gracious lady.

Queen. 'T is nothing less:³ conceit is still deriv'd

{ From some forefather grief; mine is not so,
{ For nothing hath begot my something grief;
{ Or something hath the nothing that I grieve.
{ 'T is in reversion that I do possess;
{ But what it is, that is not yet known; what
I cannot name; 't is nameless woe, I wot.] 40

¹ Rightly, from the front.

² Conceit, fancy

³ 'T is nothing less, i.e. It is anything but (that).

Enter GREEN.

Green. God save your majesty! and well met, gentlemen:

I hope the king is not yet shipp'd for Ireland.

Queen. Why hop'st thou so? 't is better hope he is;

For his designs crave haste, his haste good hope:

Then wherefore dost thou hope he is not shipp'd?

Green. [That he, our hope, might have retir'd⁴ his power,

⁴ Retir'd, withdrawn

And driven into despair an enemy's hope,
 Who strongly hath set footing in this land:]
 The banish'd Bolingbroke repeals¹ himself,
 And with uplifted arms is safe arriv'd 50
 At Ravenspurg.

Queen. Now God in heaven forbid!

Green. Ah, madam, 't is too true: and that
 is worse,—

The Lord Northumberland, his son young
 Henry Percy,

The Lords of Ross, Beaumont, and Wil-
 loughby,

With all their powerful friends, are fled to
 him.

Bushy. Why have you not proclaim'd North-
 umberland,

And all the rest revolted faction, traitors?

Green. We have: whereon the Earl of Wor-
 cester

Hath broke his staff, resign'd his stewardship,
 And all the household servants fled with him
 To Bolingbroke. 61

Queen. So, Green, thou art the midwife to
 my woe,

And Bolingbroke my sorrow's dismal heir:
 Now hath my soul brought forth her prodigy,
 And I, a gasping new-deliver'd mother,
 Have woe to woe, sorrow to sorrow join'd.

Bushy. Despair not, madam.

Queen. Who shall hinder me?

I will despair, and be at enmity
 With cozening hope: he is a flatterer,
 A parasite, a keeper back of death, 70
 Who gently would dissolve the bands of life,
 Which false hope lingers² in extremity.

Green. Here comes the Duke of York.

Queen. With signs of war about his aged
 neck:

O, full of careful³ business are his looks!

Enter York.

Uncle, for God's sake, speak comfortable
 words.

York. Should I do so, I should belie my
 thoughts:

Comfort's in heaven; and we are on the
 earth,

Where nothing lives but crosses, care, and
 grief.

Your husband, he is gone to save far off, so
 Whilst others come to make him lose at home:
 Here am I left to underprop his land,
 Who, weak with age, cannot support myself:
 Now comes the sick hour that his surfeit
 made;

Now shall he try his friends that flattered him.

Enter a Servant.

Serv. My lord, your son was gone before I
 came.

York. He was?—Why, so!—go all which
 way it will!—

The nobles they are fled, the commons cold,
 And will, I fear, revolt on Hereford's side.—

[*To the Servant*] Sirrah, get thee to Plashy, to
 my sister Gloster; 90

Bid her send me presently a thousand pound:
 Hold, take my ring.

Serv. My lord, I had forgot
 To tell your lordship; I came by to-day, and
 call'd there;—

But I shall grieve you to report the rest.

York. What is't, knave?

Serv. An hour before I came, the duchess
 died.

York. God for his mercy! what a tide of
 woes

Come rushing on this woeful land at once!

[*I know not what to do: I would to God,— 100*
So my untruth⁴ had not provok'd him to it,—
The king had cut off my head with my
brother's!⁵—

What, are there posts dispatch'd for Ire-
 land?—

How shall we 'o for money for these wars?—
 Come, sister,—cousin, I would say,—pray,
 pardon me.—]

[*To the Servant*] Go, fellow, get thee home,
 provide some carts,

And bring away the armour that is there.

[*Exit Servant.*

Gentlemen, will you go muster men?—If I
 know how or which way to order these affairs,
 thus disorderly thrust into my hands, never

¹ Repeals, recalls.

² Lingers, causes to linger.

³ Careful, anxious.

⁴ So my untruth, &c., i.e. provided that my disloy-
 alty, &c.

⁵ My brother's, i.e. Gloster's.

believe me. Both are my kinsmen:—the one, is my sovereign, whom both my oath and duty bids defend; the other, again, is my kinsman, whom the king hath wrong'd, whom conscience and my kindred bids to right: well, somewhat we must do. [*To the Queen*] Come, cousin, I'll dispose of you.—Gentlemen, go muster up your men, and meet me presently at Berkley.—I should to Plashy too: 120 But time will not permit; all is uneven, And every thing is left at six and seven.¹

[*Exeunt York and Queen.*]

[*Bushy.* The wind sits fair for news to go to Ireland, But none returns. For us to levy power Proportionable to the enemy Is all impossible.

Green. Besides, our nearness to the king in love

Is near the hate of those love not the king.

Bagot. And that's the wavering commons: for their love

Lies in their purses; whose empties them 130 By so much fills their hearts with deadly hate.

Bushy. Wherein the king stands generally condemn'd.

Bagot. If judgment lie in them, then so do we,

Because we ever have been near the king.

Green. Well,

I will for refuge straight to Bristol castle: The Earl of Wiltshire is already there.

Bushy. Thither will I with you; for little office²

{The hateful commons will perform for us, Except like curs to tear us all to pieces.

Will you go 'long with us? 140

Bagot. No;

I will to Ireland to his majesty.

Farewell: if heart's presages be not vain,

We three here part that ne'er shall meet again.

Bushy. That's as York thrives to beat back Bolingbroke.

Green. Alas, poor duke! the task he undertakes

Is—numb'ring sands, and drinking oceans dr

Where one on his side fights, thousands will fly. 147

Farewell at once,—for once, for all, and ever.

Bushy. Well, we may meet again.

Bagot. I fear me, never.]

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE III. *The Wilds in Gloucestershire.*

Enter BOLINGBROKE and NORTHUMBERLAND, with Forces.

Boling. How far is it, my lord, to Berkley now?

North. Believe me, noble lord,

I am a stranger here in Glostershire:

These high wild hills and rough uneven ways

Draws out our miles, and makes them wearisome;

And yet your fair discourse hath [been as sugar,

Making the hard way sweet and delectable.

But I bethink me what a weary way

From Ravenspurg to Cotswold will be found

In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company, 10

Which, I protest, hath very] much beguild

The tediousness and process³ of my travel:

[But theirs is sweeten'd with the hope to have

The present benefit which I possess;

And hope to joy⁴ is little less in joy

Than hope enjoy'd: by this the weary lords

Shall make their way seem short; as mine hath done

By sight of what I have, your noble company.]

Boling. Of much less value is my company

Than your good words.—But who comes here?

North. It is my son, young Harry Percy, 21 Sent from my brother Worcester, whencesoever.⁵

Enter HENRY PERCY.

Harry, how fares your uncle?

Percy. I had thought, my lord, to have learn'd his health of you.

North. Why, is he not with the queen?

³ Process, long course.

⁴ To joy, to enjoy

⁵ Whencesoever, i.e. from whatever place he may come.

¹ At six and seven, in confusion.

² Office, service.

Percy. No, my good lord; he hath forsook the court,

Broken his staff of office, and dispers'd
The household of the king.

North. What was his reason?
He was not so resolv'd when last we spake.

Percy. Because your lordship was proclaimed traitor. 30

But he, my lord, is gone to Ravenspur,
To offer service to the Duke of Hereford,
And sent me o'er by Berkley, to discover
What power the Duke of York had levied there;

Then with direction to repair to Ravenspur.

North. Have you forgot the Duke of Hereford, boy?

Percy. No, my good lord, for that is not forgot

Which ne'er I did remember: to my knowledge,

I never in my life did look on him.

North. Then learn to know him now; this is the duke. 40

Percy. My gracious lord, I tender you my service,

Such as it is, being tender, raw, and young;
Which elder days shall ripen, and confirm
To more approved service and desert.

Boling. I thank thee, gentle Percy; and be sure

I count myself in nothing else so happy
As in a soul remembring my good friends;
And, as my fortune ripens with thy love,
It shall be still thy true love's recompense:
My heart this covenant makes, my hand thus seals it. 50

North. How far is it to Berkley? and what stir

Keeps good old York there with his men of war?

Percy. There stands the castle, by yon tuft of trees,

Mann'd with three hundred men, as I have heard;

And in it are the Lords of York, Berkley, and Seymour;

None else of name and noble estimate.

North. Here come the Lords of Ross and Willoughby,

Bloody with spurring, fiery-red with haste.

Enter Ross and Willoughby.

Boling. Welcome, my lords. I wot your love pursues

A banish'd traitor: all my treasury 60
Is yet but unfelt thanks, which,¹ more enrich'd,
Shall be your love and labour's recompense.

Ross. Your presence makes us rich, most noble lord.

Will. And far surmounts our labour to attain it.

Boling. Evermore thanks, th' exchequer of the poor;

Which, till my infant fortune comes to years,
Stands for my bounty.—But who comes here?

Enter Berkley.

North. It is my Lord of Berkley, as I guess.

Berk. My Lord of Hereford, my message is To you—

Boling. [Interrupting angrily] My answer is—to Lancaster; 70

And I am come to seek that name in England;
And I must find that title in your tongue,
Before I make reply to aught you say.

Berk. Mistake me not, my lord; 't is not my meaning

To raze one title of your honour out:

To you, my lord, I come,—what lord you will,—

From the most gracious regent of this land,
The Duke of York, to know what pricks² you on

To take advantage of the absent time,³
And frigh⁴ our native peace with self-born arms. 80

Boling. I shall not need transport my words by you,

Here comes his grace in person.

Enter York attended.

My noble uncle! [Kneels.]

York. Show me thy humble heart, and not thy knee,

Whose duty is deceivable⁴ and false.

Boling. My gracious uncle—

York. Tut, tut! grace me no grace, nor uncle me:

¹ Which, i.e. my treasury.

² Pricks, spurs.

³ The absent time, i.e. the time of the king's absence.

⁴ Deceivable, deceptive.

I am no traitor's uncle; that word—"grace" •
 In an ungracious mouth is but profane.
 Why have those banish'd and forbidden legs
 Dar'd once to touch a dust¹ of England's
 ground? 91
 But then, more "why?"—why have they dar'd
 to march
 So many miles upon her peaceful bosom,

Frighting her pale-fac'd villages with war 94
 And ostentation of despised arms?
 [Com'st thou because th' anointed king is
 hence!

Why, foolish boy, the king is left behind,
 And in my loyal bosom lies his power.
 Were I but now the lord of such hot youth
 As when brave Gaunt thy father, and myself,



York Thou art a banish'd man, and here art come,
 Before the expiration of thy time—(Act II 3 110, 111)

Rescu'd the Black Prince, that young Mars of
 men, 101
 From forth the ranks of many thousand
 French,—
 O, then how quickly should this arm of mine,
 Now prisoner to the palsy, chāstise thee,
 And minister correction to thy fault!

Boling. My gracious uncle, let me know my
 fault:

On what condition stands it and wherein?

York. Even in condition of the worst degree,
 In gross rebellion and detested treason.]

Thou art a banish'd man; and here art come,
 Before the expiration of thy time, 111
 In braving² arms against thy sovereign.

Boling. As I was banish'd, I was banish'd
 Hereford;

But as I come, I come for³ Lancaster.
 And, noble uncle, I beseech your grace
 Look on my wrongs with an indifferent⁴ eye:
 You are my father, for methinks in you
 I see old Gaunt alive; O, then, my father,
 Will you permit that I shall stand condemn'd

¹ A dust, i. e. a particle of dust.

² Braving, defiant

⁴ Indifferent, impartial.

³ For—as

A wand'ring vagabond; my rights and royal-
ties 120

Pluck'd from my arms perforce, and given away
To upstart unthrifths? Wherefore was I born?
If that my cousin king be King of England,
It must be granted I am Duke of Lancaster.

[You have a son, Aumerle, my noble cousin;
Had you first died, and he been thus trod
down,
He should have found his uncle Gaunt a father,
To rouse his wrongs¹ and chase them to the
bay.]

I am deni'd to sue my livery here,
And yet my letters-patents give me leave: 130
My father's goods are all distrain'd and sold,
And these and all are all amiss employ'd.
What would you have me do? I am a subject,
And challenge law: attorneys are deni'd me;
And therefore personally I lay my claim
To my inheritance of free descent.

North. The noble duke hath been too much
abus'd.

Ross. It stands your grace upon² to do him
right.

Will. Base men by his endowments are
made great.

York. My lords of England, let me tell you
this:— 140

I have had feeling of my cousin's wrongs,
And labour'd all I could to do him right;
But in this kind to come, in braving³ arms,
Be his own carver, and cut out his way,
To find out right with wrong,—it may not be;
And you, that do abet him in this kind,
Cherish rebellion, and are rebels all.

North. The noble duke hath sworn his com-
ing is

But for his own; and for the right of that 140
We all have strongly sworn to give him aid;
And let him ne'er see joy that breaks that
oath!

York. Well, well, I see the issue of these
arms:

I cannot mend it, I must needs confess,
Because my power is weak and all ill left:⁴

¹ His wrongs, those who wrong him

² It stands your grace upon, i.e. it is your grace's duty.

³ Braving, defiant

⁴ Ill left, insufficiently provided with the necessities of
war.

But if I could, by Him that gave me life,
I would attach⁵ you all, and make you stoop
Unto the sovereign mercy of the king;
But since I cannot, be it known to you
I do remain as neuter. So, fare you well;
Unless you please to enter in the castle, 160
And there repose you for this night.

Boling. An offer, uncle, that we will accept:
But we must win your grace to go with us
To Bristol castle, which they say is held
By Bushy, Bagot, and their complices,⁶
The caterpillars of the commonwealth,
Which I have sworn to weed and pluck away.

York. It may be I will go with you:—but
yet I'll pause;
For I am loath to break our country's laws. 160
Nor friends nor foes, to me welcome you are:
Things past redress are now with me past
care. [Exeunt.]

[SCENE IV. A camp in Wales.]

Enter SALISBURY and a WELSH CAPTAIN.

Cap. My Lord of Salisbury, we have stay'd
ten days,

And hardly kept our countrymen together,
And yet we hear no tidings from the king;
Therefore we will disperse ourselves: farewell.

Sal. Stay yet another day, thou trusty
Welshman:

The king reposeth all his confidence in thee.

Cap. 'Tis thought the king is dead; we will
not stay.

The bay-trees in our country are all wither'd,
And meteors fright the fixed stars of heaven;
The pale-fac'd moon looks bloody on the earth,
And lean-look'd prophets whisper fearful
change; 11

Rich men look sad, and ruffians dance and leap,
The one in fear to lose what they enjoy,
The other to enjoy by rage and war:
These signs forerun the death or fall of kings.
Farewell: our countrymen are gone and fled,
As well assur'd Richard their king is dead.

[Exit.]

Sal. Ah, Richard, with the eyes of heavy
mind

I see thy glory, like a shooting star,

⁵ Attach, arrest.

⁶ Complices, accomplices.

Fall to the base earth from the firmament! 20
 Thy sun sets weeping in the lowly west,
 Witnessing¹ storms to come, woe and unrest:

Thy friends are fled, to wait upon thy foes;
 And crossly² to thy good all fortune goes. [Exit.]

ACT III.

[SCENE I. Bolingbroke's camp at Bristol.]

Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, NORTHUMBERLAND, ROSS, PERCY, WILLOUGHBY, with BUSHY, and GREEN, prisoners.

Boling. Bring forth these men.—

Bushy and Green, I will not vex your souls—
 Since presently your souls must part³ your
 bodies—

With too much urging⁴ your pernicious lives,
 For't were no charity; yet, to wash your blood
 From off my hands, here in the view of men,
 I will unfold some causes of your deaths.

You have misled a prince, a royal king,
 A happy⁵ gentleman in blood and lineaments,
 By you unhappied⁶ and disfigur'd clean:⁷ 10

You have, in manner,⁸ with your sinful hours,
 Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him;
 Broke the possession of a royal bed,
 And stain'd the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks
 With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul
 wrongs.

Myself—a prince by fortune of my birth,
 Near to the king in blood, and near in love,
 Till you did make him misinterpret me,—
 Have stoop'd my neck under your injuries,
 And sigh'd my English breath in foreign
 clouds, 20

Eating the bitter bread of banishment;
 Whilst you have fed upon my signories,⁹
 Dispark'd my parks, and fell'd my forest woods,
 From my own windows torn my household
 coat,¹⁰

Raz'd out my imprese,¹¹ leaving me no sign,
 Save men's opinions and my living blood,

¹ Witnessing, foretelling. ² Crossly, adversely.

³ Part, quit ⁴ Urging, dwelling upon

⁵ Happy, fortunate.

⁶ Unhappied, made unfortunate, ruined.

⁷ Clean, completely.

⁸ Signories, manors.

⁹ In manner, &c in a manner.

¹⁰ Household coat, the coat of arms emblazoned on the windows.

¹¹ Imprese, a device with motto

To show the world I am a gentleman.
 This and much more, much more than twice
 all this,
 Condemns you to the death.—See them de-
 liver'd

To execution and the hand of death. 30
Bushy. More welcome is the stroke of death
 to me

Than Bolingbroke to England.—Lords, fare-
 well.

Green. My comfort is that heaven will take
 our souls,

And plague injustice with the pains of hell.

Boling. My Lord Northumberland, see them
 dispatch'd.

*[Exeunt Northumberland and others,
 with the prisoners.]*

Uncle, you say the queen is at your house;
 For God's sake, fairly let her be entreated:¹²
 Tell her I send to her my kind commends;¹³
 Take special care my greetings be deliver'd.

York. A gentleman of mine I have dis-
 patch'd 40

With letters of your love to her at large.¹⁴

Boling. Thanks, gentle uncle.—Come, my
 lords, away,

To fight with Glendower and his complices:
 Awhile to work, and after¹⁵ holiday. [Exeunt.]

SCENE II. The coast of Wales—a castle
 in view.

*Flourish of trumpets. Enter KING RICHARD,
 the BISHOP of CARLISLE, AUMERLE, and Sol-
 diers, with colours.*

K. Rich. Barkloughly castle call you this at
 hand?

Aum. Yea, my good lord. How brooks
 your grace the air,

¹² Entreated, treated.

¹³ Commends, greetings.

¹⁴ At large, expressed at length.

¹⁵ After, afterwards.

After late tossing on the breaking seas? 8

K. Rich. Needs must I like it well: I weep
for joy

To stand upon my kingdom once again.—

Dear earth, I do salute thee with my hand,
Though rebels wound thee with their horses'
hoofs:

As a long-parted mother with her child

Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in
meeting,

So, weeping, smiling, greet I thee, my earth, 10
And do thee favours with my royal hands.

Feed not thy sovereign's foe, my gentle earth,
Nor with thy sweets comfort his ravenous
sense;

But let thy spiders, that suck up thy venom,
And heavy-gaited toads, lie in their way,
Doing annoyance to the treacherous feet,
Which with usurping steps do trample thee:
Yield stinging nettles to mine enemies;



Ann. How brooks your grace the air,
After late tossing on the breaking seas?

K. Rich. Needs must I like it well: I weep for joy
To stand upon my kingdom once again —(Act III. 2. 8)

And when they from thy bosom pluck a flower,
Guard it, I pray thee, with a lurking adder, 20
Whose double tongue may with a mortal¹
touch

Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies.—

Mock not my senseless conjuration.² lords:

This earth shall have a feeling, and these stones
Prove armed soldiers, ere her native king
Shall falter under foul rebellion's arms.

Car. Fear not, my lord: that Power that
made you king

Hath power to keep you king in spite of all.

The means that heaven yields must be em-
brac'd,

{ [And not neglected; else, if heaven would, 30
{ And we will not, heaven's offer we refuse,]

The proffer'd means of succour and redress.

¹ Mortal, deadly

² My senseless conjuration, i.e. my adjuration addressed
to a senseless thing (the earth).

Ann. He means, my lord, that we are too
remiss; 33

Whilst Bolingbroke, through our security,³
Grows strong and great in substance and in
power.

K. Rich. Discomfortable⁴ cousin! knowest
thou not

That when the searching eye of heaven is hid,
Behind the globe, and lights the lower world,
Then thieves and robbers range abroad un-
seen,

In murders and in outrage bloody here; 40

But when, from under this terrestrial ball,
He fires the proud tops of the eastern pines,
And darts his light through ev'ry guilty
hole,

Then murders, treasons, and detested sins,

³ Security, carelessness

⁴ Discomfortable, giving no comfort; discouraging.

The cloak of night being pluck'd from off their
backs, 45
Stand bare and naked, trembling at them-
selves!

So when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,
Who all this while hath revell'd in the night,
Whilst we were wand'ring with the antipodes,
Shall see us rising in our throne, the east, 50
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
Not able to endure the sight of day,
But self-affrighted tremble at his sin.
Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm¹ from an anointed king;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord:
For every man that Bolingbroke hath press'd²
To lift shrewd³ steel against our golden crown,
God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay 60
A glorious angel: then, if angels fight,
Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards
the right.

Enter SALISBURY.

Welcome, my lord: how far off lies your power?

Sal. Nor near⁴ nor farther off, my gracious
lord,

Than this weak arm: discomfort guides my
tongue,

And bids me speak of nothing but despair.

One day too late, I fear me, noble lord,

Hath clouded all thy happy days on earth:

O, call back yesterday, bid time return,
And thou shalt have twelve thousand fighting
men! 70

To-day, to-day, unhappy day, too late,
O'erthrows thy joys, friends, fortune, and thy
state:

For all the Welshmen, hearing thou wert dead,
Are gone to Bolingbroke, dispers'd and fled.

Am. Comfort, my liege: why looks your
grace so pale?

K. Rich. But now the blood of twenty thou-
sand men

Did triumph in my face, and they are fled;
And, till so much blood thither come again,
Have I not reason to look pale and dead?
All souls that will be safe, fly from my side; 80

For time hath set a blot upon my pride. 81
Am. Comfort, my liege; remember who
you are.

K. Rich. I had forgot myself: am I not king?
Awake, thou coward majesty! thou sleepest.
Is not the king's name twenty thousand names?
Arm, arm, my name! a puny subject strikes
At thy great glory.—Look not to the ground,
Ye favourites of a king: are we not high?
High be our thoughts: I know my uncle York
Hath power enough to serve our turn.—
But who comes here? 90

Enter SCROOP.

Scroop. More health and happiness betide
my liege

Than can my care-tun'd tongue deliver him!

K. Rich. Mine ear is open and my heart
prepar'd:

The worst is worldly loss thou canst unfold.⁵
Say, is my kingdom lost? why, 't was my care;
And what loss is it to be rid of care?

Strives Bolingbroke to be as great as we?

Greater he shall not be; if he serve God,

We'll serve Him too and be his fellow so: 99

Revolt our subjects? that we cannot mend;

They break their faith to God as well as us:

Cry woe, destruction, ruin, loss, decay;

The worst is death, and death will have his day.

Scroop. Glad am I that your highness is so
arm'd

To bear the tidings of calamity.

Like an unseasonable stormy day,

Which makes the silver rivers drown their
shores,

As if the world were all dissolv'd to tears,

So high above his limits swells the rage 109

Of Bolingbroke, covering your fearful land

With hard bright steel and hearts harder than
steel.

White-beards have arm'd their thin and hair-
less scalps

Against thy majesty; boys, with women's
voices,

Strive to speak big and clap their female joints

In stiff unwieldy arms against thy crown:

Thy very beadsmen learn to bend their bows

¹ The balm, i.e. the consecrated oil.

² Pressed, i.e. impressed (for military service).

³ Shrewd, sharp.

⁴ Near=nearer.

⁵ The worst, &c. the worst (that) thou canst unfold is worldly loss.

Of double-fatal yew against thy state;
 Yea, distaff-women manage rusty bills
 Against thy seat: both young and old rebel,
 And all goes worse than I have power to tell.

K. Rich. Too well, too well thou tell'st a
 tale so ill. 121

Where is the Earl of Wiltshire? where is
 Bagot?

What is become of Bushy? where is Green?
 That they have let the dangerous enemy
 Measure our confines with such peaceful steps?
 If we prevail, their heads shall pay for it:
 I warrant they have made peace with Boling-
 broke.

Scroop. Peace have they made with him in-
 deed, my lord.

K. Rich. O villains, vipers, damn'd without
 redemption!

Dogs, easily won to fawn on any man! 130
 Snakes, in my heart-blood warm'd, that sting
 my heart!

Three Judases, each one thrice worse than
 Judas!

Would they make peace? terrible hell make
 war

Upon their spotted souls for this offence!

Scroop. Sweet love, I see, changing his pro-
 perty,¹

Turns to the sourest and most deadly hate:
 Again uncure their souls; their peace is made
 With heads, and not with hands: those whom
 you curse

Have felt the worst of death's destroying
 wound,

And lie full low, grav'd in the hollow ground.

Aum. Is Bushy, Green, and the Earl of
 Wiltshire dead? 141

Scroop. Ay, all of them at Bristol lost their
 heads.

Aum. Where is the duke my father with his
 power?

K. Rich. No matter where; of comfort no
 man speak:

Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs;
 Make dust our paper, and with rainy eyes
 Write sorrow on the bosom of the earth.

Let's choose executors, and talk of wills:

And yet not so,—for what can we bequeath,

Save our deposed bodies to the ground? 150
 Our lands, our lives, and all are Bolingbroke's,
 And nothing can we call our own but death,
 And that small model² of the barren earth
 Which serves as paste and cover to our bones.
 For God's sake, let us sit upon the ground,
 And tell sad stories of the death of kings:—
 How some have been depos'd; some slain in
 war;

Some haunted by the ghosts they have de-
 pos'd;

Some poison'd by their wives; some sleeping
 kill'd; 159

All murder'd:—for within the hollow crown
 That rounds³ the mortal temples of a king
 Keeps Death his court; and there the antic
 sits,

Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp,
 Allowing him a breath,⁴ a little scene,
 To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks;
 Infusing him with self and vain conceit,⁵—
 As if this flesh, which walls about our life,
 Were brass impregnable; and humour'd thus,
 Comes at the last, and with a little pin
 Bores through his castle wall, and—farewell,
 king! 170

Cover your heads, and mock not flesh and
 blood

With solemn reverence: throw away respect,
 Tradition, form, and ceremonious duty,
 For you have but mistook me all this while:
 I live with bread like you, like you feel want,
 Like you taste grief, need friends: subjected
 thus,

How can you say to me, I am a king?

Car. My lord, wise men ne'er sit and wail
 their woes,

But presently⁶ prevent the ways to wail. 179
 [To fear the foe, since fear oppresses strength,⁷
 Gives, in your weakness, strength unto your,
 foe;

And so your follies fight against yourself.

Fear, and be slain; no worse can come to
 fight: 180

And fight and die is death destroying death;

¹ Model, mould, pattern.

² Rounds, surrounds.

³ A breath, a brief time.

⁴ Self and vain conceit, i.e. vain self-conceit.

⁵ Presently, immediately.

⁶ To fight, i.e. to you if you fight

⁷ His property, its natural quality.

{ Where¹ fearing dying² pays death service
breath.] 185

Aum. My father hath a power; inquire of him,

And learn to make a body of a limb

K. Rich. Thou chid'st me well:—proud Bolingbroke, I come

To change blows with thee for our day of doom.

This ague fit of fear is over-blown; 190

An easy task it is to win our own—

Say, Scroop, where lies our uncle with his power?

{ Speak sweetly, man, although thy looks be sour.]

Scroop. [Men judge by the complexion of the sky

The state and inclination of the day.

{ So may you by my dull and heavy eye,

My tongue hath but a heavier tale to say.]

I play the torturer, by small and small³

To lengthen out the worst that must be spoken. 199

Your uncle York is join'd with Bolingbroke,

And all your northern castles yielded up,

And all your southern gentlemen in arms

Upon his party

K. Rich. Thou hast said enough.—

[To *Aumerle*] Beshrew thee, cousin, which didst lead me forth

Of⁴ that sweet way I was in to despair!

What say you now? what comfort have we now?

By heaven, I'll hate him everlastingly

That bids me be of comfort any more

Go to Flint castle: there I'll pine away;

A king, woe's slave, shall kingly woe obey. 210

That power I have, discharge, and let them go

To ear⁵ the land that hath some hope to grow,

For I have none:—let no man speak again

To alter this, for counsel is but vain.

Aum. My liege, one word.

K. Rich. He does me double wrong

That wounds me with the flatteries of his tongue.

Discharge my followers: let them hence away,



K. Rich. let no man speak again
To alter this, for counsel is but vain — (Act iii 2 213, 214)

From Richard's night to Bolingbroke's fair day. [Exeunt]

¹ Where, whereas

² Fearing dying, dying in a state of fear

³ Small and small, i.e. by little and little

⁴ Of = out of

⁵ To ear, to till

SCENE III. *Wales—before Flint Castle.*

Flourish of trumpets. Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, NORTHUMBERLAND, Attendants, and Forces.

Boling. So that by this intelligence we learn

The Welshmen are dispers'd, and Salisbury
Is gone to meet the king, who lately landed,
With some few private friends, upon this coast.

North. The news is very fair and good, my lord:

Richard not far from hence hath hid his head.

York. It would beseem the Lord Northumberland

To say "King Richard:"—alack the heavy day
When such a sacred king should hide his head!

North. Your grace mistakes me; only to be brief,

Left I his title out

York. The time hath been, 10

Would you have been so brief with him, he would

Have been so brief with you, to shorten you,
For taking so the head,¹ your whole head's length.

Boling. Mistake not, uncle, farther than you should.

York. Take not, good cousin, farther than you should,

Lest you mistake: the heavens are o'er your head.

Boling. I know it, uncle, and dare not oppose

Myself against their will.—But who comes here?

Enter PERCY.

What, Harry! welcome: will not this castle yield? 20

Perry. The castle royally is mann'd, my lord,

Against thy entrance.

Boling. Royally!

Why, it contains no king?

Percy. Yes, my good lord,

It doth contain a king; King Richard lies 25
Within the limits of yon lime and stone:

And with him are the Lord Aumerle, Lord Salisbury,

Sir Stephen Scroop, besides a clergyman
Of holy reverence; who, I cannot learn.

North. Belike² it is the Bishop of Carlisle.

Boling. Noble lords, 31

Go to the rude ribs of that ancient castle;
Through brazen trumpet send the breath of parle

Into his ruin'd ears, and thus deliver:³

Henry Bolingbroke

On both his knees doth kiss King Richard's hand,

And sends allegiance and true faith of heart

To his most royal person; hither come

Even at his feet to lay my arms and power;

Provided that my banishment repeal'd, 40

And lands restor'd again, be freely granted:

If not, I'll use th' advantage of my power,
And lay the summer's dust with showers of blood,

Ruin'd from the wounds of slaughter'd Englishmen:

The which, how far off from the mind of Bolingbroke

It is, such crimson tempest should bedrench

The fresh green lap of fair King Richard's land,

My stooping duty tenderly shall show.

Go, signify as much; while here we march

Upon the grassy carpet of this plain. 50

[*Northumberland and others advance to the castle with trumpets.*]

Let's march without the noise of threatening drum,

That from this castle's tatter'd⁴ battlements

Our fair appointments may be well perus'd.

[*Methinks King Richard and myself should meet*]

With no less terror than the elements

Of fire and water, when their thund'ring shock

At meeting tears the cloudy cheeks of heaven.

Be he the fire, I'll be the yielding water:

The rage be his, whilst on the earth I rain

My waters; on the earth, and not on him.] 60

¹ Taking so the head, i.e. so taking away Richard's chief title of king.

² Belike, probably

³ Deliver, proclaim

⁴ Tatter'd, broken.

March on, and mark King Richard how he looks.

Parls without, and answer within. Then a flourish. Enter on the walls, KING RICHARD, the BISHOP OF CARLISLE, AUMERLE, SCROOP, and SALISBURY.

Percy. See, see, King Richard doth himself appear,

As doth the blushing discontented sun
From out the fiery portal of the east;
When he perceives the envious clouds are bent

To dim his glory, and to stain the track
Of his bright passage to the occident.¹

[*York.* Yet looks he like a king: behold, his eye,

As bright as is the eagle's, lightens forth
Controlling majesty: alack, alack, for woe, 70
That any harm should stain so fair a show!]

K. Rich. [*To Northumberland*] We are
amaz'd; and thus long have we stood
To watch the fearful bending of thy knee,
Because we thought ourself thy lawful king:
And if we be, how dare thy joints forget
To pay their awful duty to our presence?
If we be not, show us the hand of God
That hath dismiss'd us from our stewardship;
For well we know, no hand of blood and bone
Can gripe the sacred handle of our sceptre, so
Unless he do profane, steal, or usurp.
And though you think that all, as you have
done,

Have torn their souls by turning them from us,
And we are barren and bereft of friends;
Yet know,—my master, God omnipotent,
Is must'ring in his clouds on our behalf
Armies of pestilence; and they shall strike
Your children yet unborn and unbegot,
That lift your vassal hands against my head,
And threat the glory of my precious crown. 80
Tell Bolingbroke—for yond methinks he
stands—

That every stride he makes upon my land
Is dangerous treason: he is come to open
The purple testament of bleeding war;
But ere the crown he looks for live in peace,
Ten thousand bloody crowns of mothers' sons

Shall ill become the flower of England's face,²
Change the complexion of her maid-pale peace
To scarlet indignation, and bedew
Her pastures' grass with faithful English blood.

North. [The king of heaven forbid our lord
the king 101]

Should so with civil and uncivil arms
Be rush'd upon! No, thy thrice noble cousin,
Harry Bolingbroke doth humbly kiss thy
hand;

And by the honourable tomb he swears,
That stands upon your royal grandsire's bones,
And by the royalties of both your bloods,—

[Currents that spring from one most gracious
head,—

And by the buried hand of warlike Gaunt,
And by the worth and honour of himself, 110
Comprising all that may be sworn or said,—]

His coming hither hath no further scope
Than for his lineal royalties, and to beg
Enfranchisement immediate on his knees:
Which on thy royal party granted once,
His glittering arms he will commend³ to rust,
His barbed steeds to stables, and his heart
To faithful service of your majesty.

[This swears he, as he is a prince, is just;
And, as I am a gentleman, I credit him.] 120

K. Rich. Northumberland, say, thus the
king returns:

His noble cousin is right welcome hither;
And all the number of his fair demands
Shall be accomplish'd without contradiction:
With all the gracious utterance thou hast
Speak to his gentle hearing kind commenda.⁴—

[*Northumberland and suit return to
Bolingbroke.*

[*To Aumerle*] We do debase ourselves, cousin,
do we not,

To look so poorly, and to speak so fair?
Shall we call back Northumberland, and send
Defiance to the traitor, and so die? 130

Aum. No, good my lord; let's fight with
gentle words

Till time lend friends, and friends their help-
ful swords.

K. Rich. O God! O God! that e'er this
tongue of mine,

¹ The flower of England's face, i.e. the flowery surface
of England

² Commend, give up

⁴ Commends, greetings, compliments

¹ Occident, west.

That laid the sentence of dread banishment 124
On yon proud man, should take it off again
With words of sooth!¹ O that I were as
great

As is my grief, or lesser than my name!
Or that I could forget what I have been,
Or not remember what I must be now!

{ [Swell'st thou, proud heart? I'll give thee
scope to beat, 140
Since foes have scope to beat both thee and
me.]

Aum. Northumberland comes back from
Bolingbroke.

[*Northumberland and suit again
approach the castle walls.*

K. Rich. What must the king do now?
must he submit?

The king shall do it: must he be depos'd?
The king shall be contented: must he lose
The name of king? o' God's name, let it go:
I'll give my jewels for a set of beads,
My gorgeous palace for a hermitage,
{ [My gay apparel for an almsman's gown,
'My figur'd goblets for a dish of wood,] 150
My sceptre for a palmer's walking-staff,
My subjects for a pair of carved saints,
And my large kingdom for a little grave,
A little little grave, an obscure grave;—
Or I'll be buried in the king's highway,
Some way of common trade,² where subjects'
feet

May hourly trample on their sovereign's head;
For on my heart they tread now whilst I live;
And buried once, why not upon my head?—

{ [Aumerle, thou weep'st, my tender-hearted
cousin! 160

We'll make foul weather with despised tears;
Our sighs and they shall lodge³ the summer
corn,

{ And make a dearth in this revolting land.
Or shall we play the wantons with our woes,
And make some pretty match with shedding
tears?

{ As thus, to drop them still upon one place,
'Till they have fretted us⁴ a pair of graves

Within the earth; and, therein laid,—“There;
lies

Two kinsmen digg'd⁵ their graves with weep-
ing eyes.”

Would not this ill do well?—Well, well, I
see] 170

I talk but idly, and you laugh at me.—

[*To Northumberland*] Most mighty prince,
my Lord Northumberland,

What says King Bolingbroke? will his majesty
Give Richard leave to live till Richard die?

You make a leg,⁶ and Bolingbroke says ay.

North. My lord, in the base court he doth
attend

To speak with you; may it please you to come
down.

K. Rich. Down, down I come; like glis-
t'ring Phaethon,

Wanting the manage of⁷ unruly jades.

[*In the base court*] Base court, where kings
grow base, 180

To come at traitors' calls and do them grace.
In the base court? Come down? Down, court!
down, king!

For night-owls shriek where mounting larks
should sing. [*Exeunt from above.*

Boling. What says his majesty?

North. Sorrow and grief of heart

Makes him speak fondly,⁸ like a frantic man: }
Yet he is come.]

Enter KING RICHARD and Attendants below.

Boling. Stand all apart,
And show fair duty to his majesty.

[*He kneels down.*

My gracious lord,—

K. Rich. Fair cousin, you debase your
princely knee 190

To make the base earth proud with kissing it:
Me rather had⁹ my heart might feel your love
Than my unpleas'd eye see your courtesy.

Up, cousin, up;—your heart is up, I know,
Thus high at least [*Touching his own head*],
although your knee be low.

Boling. My gracious lord, I come but for
mine own.

¹ Sooth, flattery.

² Some way of common trade, i.e. some road of much
traffic.

³ Lodge, lay; beat down flat (as the wind does).⁴

⁴ Fretted us, worn for us

⁵ Digg'd=who digged

⁶ Make a leg, i.e. make a bow, or curtesy.

⁷ Manage of, control of.

⁸ Fondly, foolishly.

⁹ Me rather had, i.e. I had rather

K. Rich. Your own is yours, and I am
yours, and all.

Boling. So far be mine, my most redoubted
lord,

As my true service shall deserve your love.

K. Rich. Well you deserve.—they well de-
serve to have, 200

That know the strong'st and surest way to
get.— 201

Uncle, give me your hand: nay, dry your eyes;
Tears show their love, but want their remedies.

Cousin, I am too young to be your father,

Though you are old enough to be my heir.

What you will have, I'll give, and willing too;



K. Rich. For cousin, you debase your princely knee
To make the base earth proud with kissing it—(Act III. 3. 190, 191)

For do we must what force will have us do.
Set on¹ towards London,—cousin, is it so?

Boling. Yea, my good lord.

K. Rich. Then I must not say no.

[*Flourish. Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *Langley. The Duke of York's
garden.*

Enter the QUEEN and two Ladies.

Queen. What sport shall we devise here in
this garden,
To drive away the heavy thought of care?

Lady. Madam, we'll play at bowls.

Queen. 'T will make me think the world is
full of rubs,

And that my fortune runs against the bias.

Lady. Madam, we'll dance

Queen. My legs can keep no measure in de-
light,

When my poor heart no measure keeps in
grief

Therefore, no dancing, girl; some other sport.

Lady. Madam, we'll tell tales. 10

Queen. Of sorrow or of joy?

Lady. Of either, madam.

Queen. Of neither, girl:

For if of joy, being altogether wanting,

¹ Set on, lead forward.

It doth remember me¹ the more of sorrow; 14
Or if of grief, being altogether had,
It adds more sorrow to my want of joy:
For what I have I need not to repeat;
And what I want, it boots not to complain.²

Lady. Madam, I'll sing.

Queen. 'Tis well that thou hast cause;
But thou shouldst please me better, wouldst
thou weep. 20

Lady. I could weep, madam, would it do
you good.

Queen. And I could weep, would weeping
do me good,

And never borrow any tear of thee.

But, ladies, stay, here come the gardeners:
Let's step into the shadow of these trees.

My wretchedness unto³ a row of pins,
They'll talk of state; for every one doth so
Against a change; woe is forerun with⁴ woe.

Enter a Gardener, and two Servants.

[Queen and ladies retire.]

Gard. Go, bind thou up yon dangling apri-
cocks, 29

Which, like unruly children, make their sire
Stoop with oppression of their prodigal weight:

[Give some supportance⁵ to the bending twigs.]

[Go thou, and like an executioner,

Cut off the heads of too fast growing sprays,

That look too lofty in our commonwealth:

All must be even in our government.—]

You thus employ'd, I will go root away
The noisome weeds, which without profit suck
The soil's fertility from wholesome flowers.

Serv. Why should we, in the compass of a
pale, 40

Keep law and form and due proportion,
Showing, as in a model, our firm state,
When our sea-walled garden, the whole land,
Is full of weeds; her fairest flowers chok'd up,
Her fruit-trees all unprun'd, her hedges ruin'd,
Her knots⁶ disorder'd and her wholesome
herbs

Swarming with caterpillars?

¹ Remember me, remind me.

² To complain, to lament.

³ Unto, against, i.e. (I'll wager) my wretchedness against
a row of pins.

⁴ With, by.

⁵ Supportance, support.

⁶ Knots, fancifully arranged flower-beds.

Gard.

Hold thy peace:
He that hath suffer'd this disorder'd spring
Hath now himself met with the fall of leaf:
The weeds that his broad-spreading leaves did
shelter, 50

That seem'd in eating him to hold him up,
Are pluck'd up root and all by Bolingbroke,
I mean the Earl of Wiltshire, Bushy, Green.

Serv. What, are they dead?

Gard. They are; and Bolingbroke
Hath seiz'd the wasteful king.—O, what pity
is it

That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his
land

As we this garden! *[We at time of year
Do wound the bark, the skin of our fruit-
trees,*

*Lest, being over-proud in sap and blood,
With too much riches it confound itself: 60*
*Had he done so to great and growing men,
They might have liv'd to bear, and he to
taste*

*Their fruits of duty.] All superfluous bran-
ches*

We lop away, that bearing boughs may live:
Had he done so, himself had borne the crown,
Which waste of idle hours hath quite thrown
down.

Serv. What, think you then the king shall
be depos'd?

Gard. Depress'd he is already, and depos'd
'Tis doubt⁷ he will be: letters came last
night

To a dear friend of the good Duke of York's,
That tell black tidings. 71

Queen. O, I am press'd to death through
want of speaking! *[Coming forward.]*

Thou,—*[She pauses, as if half-choked by her
emotion]*

Old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,
How dares

Thy harsh rude tongue sound this displeasing
news?

What Eve, what serpent, hath suggest'd thee
To make a second fall of cursed man?

Why dost thou say King Richard is depos'd?
Dar'st thou, thou little better thing than
earth,

⁷ 'Tis doubt, i.e. no doubt.

Divine his downfall? Say, where, when, and how,
 Cam'st thou by this ill tidings? speak, thou wretch.

Gard. Pardon me, madam: little joy have I
 To breathe this news; yet what I say is true.

King Richard, he is in the mighty hold
 Of Bolingbroke: their fortunes both are
 weigh'd:

In your lord's scale is nothing but himself,
 And some few vanities that make him light;
 But in the balance of great Bolingbroke,



Queen. Say, where, when, and how,
 Cam'st thou by this ill tidings? speak, thou wretch.—(Act iii. 4. 79, 80.)

Besides himself, are all the English peers,
 And with that odds he weighs King Richard
 down.

Post you to London, and you'll find it so; so
 I speak no more than every one doth know.

Queen. Nimble mischance, that art so light
 of foot,

Doth not thy embassy belong to me,
 And am I last that knows it? O, thou think'st
 To serve me last, that I may longest keep
 Thy sorrow in my breast. Come, ladies, go,
 To meet at London London's king in woe.
 What, was I born to this, that my sad look
 Should grace the triumph of great Boling-
 broke?

Gardener, for telling me these news of woe, 100
 Pray God the plants thou graft'st may never
 grow.

[*Exeunt Queen and Ladies.*]

Gard. Poor queen! so that thy state might
 be no worse,

I would my skill were subject to thy curse.—
 Here did she fall a tear; here in this place
 I'll set a bank of rue, sour herb of grace:
 Rue, e'en for ruth,¹ here shortly shall be
 seen

In the remembrance of a weeping queen.

[*Exeunt.*]

¹ *Ruth, pity.*

ACT IV.

SCENE I. *London. Westminster Hall.*

The Parliament assembled. On the right side of the throne (which is empty) are the Lords Spiritual; on the left, the Lords Temporal; the Commons below.

Enter BOLINGBROKE, AUMERLE, SURREY, NORTHUMBERLAND, PERCY, FITZWATER, another Lord, the BISHOP OF CARLISLE, the ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER, and Attendants. Officers behind, with BAGOT.

[*Boling.* Call forth Bagot.

Now, Bagot, freely speak thy mind;
What thou dost know of noble Gloster's death,
Who wrought it with the king,¹ and who per-
form'd

The bloody office of his timeless² end.

Bagot. Then set before my face the Lord Aumerle.

Boling. Cousin, stand forth, and look upon that man.

Bagot. My Lord Aumerle, I know your daring tongue

Scorns to unsay what once it hath deliver'd.
In that dead time when Gloster's death was
plotted, 10

I heard you say, "Is not my arm of length,
That reacheth from the restful English court
As far as Calais, to mine uncle's head?"

Amongst much other talk, that very time,
I heard you say, that you had rather refuse
The offer of an hundred thousand crowns,
Than Bolingbroke's return to England;³
Adding withal, how blest this land would be
In this your cousin's death.

Aum. Princes and noble lords,
What answer shall I make to this base man?
Shall I so much dishonour my fair stars, 21
On equal terms to give him chastisement?
Either I must, or have mine honour soil'd
With the attainder of his slanderous lips.—
There is my gage, [*Throwing down his glove*]
the manual seal of death,

That marks thee out for hell: I say, thou liest,
And will maintain what thou hast said is false
In thy heart-blood, though being all too base
To stain the temper of my knightly sword.

Boling. Bagot, forbear; thou shalt not take
it up. 30

Aum. Excepting one, I would he were the
best

In all this presence that hath mov'd me so.

Fitz. If that thy valour stand on⁴ sympathy,⁵
There is my gage, Aumerle, in gage to thine:
[*Throws down his glove.*

By that fair sun which shows me where thou
stand'st,

I heard thee say, and vauntingly thou spak'st it,
That thou wert cause of noble Gloster's death.
If thou deni'st it twenty times, thou liest;
And I will turn thy falsehood to thy heart,
Where it was forged, with my rapier's point.

Aum. Thou dar'st not, coward, live to see
that day. 41

Fitz. Now, by my soul, I would it were this
hour.

Aum. Fitzwater, thou art damn'd to hell for
this.

Percy. Aumerle, thou liest; his honour is as
true

In this appeal as thou art all unjust;
And that thou art so, there I throw my gage,
[*Throwing down his glove.*

To prove it on thee to th' extreme point
Of mortal breathing: seize it, if thou dar'st.

Aum. An if I do not, may my hands rot off,
And never brandish more revengeful steel 50
Over the glittering helmet of my foe!

Another Lord. I task thee to the like, for-
sworn Aumerle;

And spur thee on with full as many lies
As may be holloa'd in thy treacherous ear
From sun to sun: there is my honour's pawn;
[*Throwing down his glove.*

Engage it to the trial, if thou dar'st.

Aum. Who sets me⁶ else? by heaven, I'll
throw at all: [*Throws down his other glove.*

¹ Wrought it with the king, i.e. worked upon the king's
mind to bring it about. ² Timeless, untimely.

³ England, pronounced here as a trisyllable.

⁴ Stand on, insist on.

⁵ Sympathy, equality (of rank).

⁶ Sets me, challenges me.

I have a thousand spirits in one breast,
To answer twenty thousand such as you.

Surrey. My Lord Fitzwater, I do remember
well 60

The very time Aumerle and you did talk.

Fitz. 'Tis very true: you were in presence¹
then;

And you can witness with me this is true.

Surrey. As false, by heaven, as heaven it-
self is true.

Fitz. Surrey, thou liest.

Surrey. Dishonourable boy!

That lie shall lie so heavy on my sword,

That it shall render vengeance and revenge,

Till thou the lie-giver, and that lie, do lie

In earth as quiet as thy father's skull: 69

In proof whereof, there is my honour's pawn;

[*Throws down his glove.*]

Engage it to the trial, if thou dar'st.

Fitz. How fondly² dost thou spur a forward
horse!

If I dare eat, or drink, or breathe, or live,

I dare meet Surrey in a wilderness,

And spit upon him, whilst I say he lies,

And lies, and lies: there is my bond of faith,

To tie thee to my strong correction.

As I intend to thrive in this new world,

Aumerle is guilty of my true appeal:

Besides, I heard the banish'd Norfolk say, 80

That thou, Aumerle, didst send two of thy
men

To execute the noble duke at Calais.

Aum. Some honest Christian trust me with
a gage,

That Norfolk lies: here do I throw down
this, [*Throwing down his hood.*]

If he may be repeal'd,³ to try his honour.

Boling. These differences shall all rest under
gage

Till Norfolk be repeal'd: repeal'd he shall be,

And, though mine enemy, restor'd again

To all his lands and signories: when he's re-
turn'd,

Against Aumerle we will enforce his trial. 90

Car. That honourable day shall ne'er be
seen.

Many a time hath banish'd Norfolk fought

For Jesu Christ in glorious Christian field,
Streaming the ensign of the Christian cross
Against black pagans, Turks, and Saracens;
And toil'd with works of war, retir'd himself⁴
To Italy; and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth,
And his pure soul unto his captain Christ,
Under whose colours he had fought so long. 100

Boling. Why, bishop, is Norfolk dead?

Car. As surely as I live, my lord.

Boling. Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul
to the bosom

Of good old Abraham!—Lords appellants,

Your differences shall all rest under gage

Till we assign you to your days of trial.]

Enter York, attended.

York. Great Duke of Lancaster, I come to
thee

From plume-pluck'd Richard; who with will-
ing soul

Adopts thee heir, and his high sceptre yields

To the possession of thy royal hand: 110

Ascend his throne, descending now from him;

And long live Henry, of that name the fourth!

Boling. In God's name, I'll ascend the re-
gal throne. [*Takes his place on the throne.*]

[*Car.* Marry, God forbid!—

Worst in this royal presence may I speak,

Yet best beseeeming me to speak the truth.

Would God that any in this noble presence

Were enough noble to be upright judge 118

Of noble Richard! then true noblesse would

Learn⁵ him forbearance from so foul a wrong.

What subject can give sentence on his king?

And who sits here that is not Richard's sub-
ject?

Thieves are not judg'd⁶ but they are by to
hear,

Although apparent guilt be seen in them;

And shall the figure of God's majesty,

His captain, steward, deputy-elect,

Anointed, crowned, planted many years,

Be judg'd by subject and inferior breath,

And he himself not present? O, forbend it,
God,

That, in a Christian climate,⁷ souls refin'd 130

¹ In presence, in the presence-chamber.

² Fondly, foolishly.

³ Repeal'd, recalled from banishment.

⁴ Retired himself, withdrew.

⁵ Learn, teach.

⁶ Judg'd, condemned.

⁷ Climate, region.

Should show so heinous, black, obscene¹ a deed! 131

I speak to subjects, and a subject speaks,
Stirr'd up by God, thus boldly for his king.
My Lord of Hereford here, whom you call king,
Is a foul traitor to proud Hereford's king;
And if you crown him, let me prophesy:
The blood of English shall manure the ground,
And future ages groan for this foul act;
Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,
And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars 140
Shall kin with kin and kind with kind con-
found;

Disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny
Shall here inhabit, and this land be call'd
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.
O, if you raise this house against this house,
It will the woofullest division prove
That ever fell upon this cursed earth.
Prevent, resist it, let it not be so,
Lest child, child's children, cry against you
"woe!"

North. Well have you argu'd, sir; and, for
your pains, 150

Of capital treason we arrest you here.—
My Lord of Westminster, be it your charge
To keep him safely till his day of trial.—
May it please you, lords, to grant the com-
mons' suit.

Boling. Fetch hither Richard, that in com-
mon view

He may surrender; so we shall proceed
Without suspicion.

York. I will be his conduct.² [*Exit.*

[*Boling.* Lords, you that here are under
our arrest,

Procure your sureties for your days of an-
swer.—

[*To Carlisle*] Little are we beholding³ to your
love, 160

And little look'd for at your helping hands.]

*Re-enter YORK, with RICHARD, and Officers
bearing the crown and sceptre.*

K. Rich. Alack, why am I sent for to a
king,
Before I have shook off the regal thoughts

Wherewith I reign'd? I hardly yet have
learn'd 164

To insinuate, flatter, bow, and bend my knee:
Give sorrow leave awhile to tutor me
To this submission. Yet I well remember
The favours⁴ of these men: were they not
mine?

Did they not sometime cry "all hail!" to
me? 169

[So Judas did to Christ: but he, in twelve,
Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thou-
sand, none.

God save the king!—Will no man say amen?
Am I both priest and clerk? well then, amen.
God save the king! although I be not he;
And yet, amen, if heaven do think him me.—]
To do what service am I sent for hither?

York. To do that office of thine own good will
Which tired majesty did make thee offer,—
The resignation of thy state and crown
To Henry Bolingbroke. 180

K. Rich. Give me the crown. [*The crown is
brought to Richard, who takes it in his
hand, turning it upside down.*] Here,
cousin, seize the crown;

On this side my hand, and on that side yours
Now is this golden crown like a deep well
That owes⁵ two buckets, filling one another,
The emptier ever dancing in the air,
The other down, unseen and full of water:
That bucket down and full of tears am I,
Drinking my griefs, whilst you mount up on
high.

Boling. I thought you had been willing to
resign 190

K. Rich. My crown I am; but still my
griefs are mine:

You may my glories and my state depose,
But not my griefs; still am I king of those.

Boling. Part of your cares you give me with
your crown.

K. Rich. Your cares set up do not pluck my
cares down.

[My care is loss of care, by old care done;
Your care is gain of care, by new care won:]
The cares I give I have, though given away;
They tend⁶ the crown, yet still with me they
stay.

¹ Obscene, foul.

² Conduct = conductor.

³ Beholding = beholden.

⁴ Favours, faces.

⁵ Owes, owns.

⁶ Tend, attend.

Boling. Are you contented to resign the crown? 200

K. Rich. Ay, no;—no, ay; for I must nothing be;

Therefore no no, for I resign to thee.

Now mark me, how I will undo myself:—

I give this heavy weight from off my head,

And this unwieldy sceptre from my hand,

The pride of kingly sway from out my heart;
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,¹

With mine own hands I give away my crown,

With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,

With mine own breath release all duty's rites:

All pomp and majesty I do forswear; 211

My manors, rents, revénues I forego;

My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny:



K. Rich.

Here, cousin, seize the crown.—(Act iv. 1. 181.)

God pardon all oaths that are broke to me!
God keep all vows unbroke are made to thee!

[Make me, that nothing have, with nothing griev'd,

And thou with all pleas'd, that hast all achiev'd!]

Long mayst thou live in Richard's seat to sit,
And soon lie Richard in an earthly pit! 219

God save King Harry, unking'd Richard says,
And send him many years of sunshine days!—

What more remains?

North. No more, but that you read
These accusations, and these grievous crimes

[Offering a paper.

Committed by your person, and your followers,

Against the state and profit of this land;
That, by confessing them, the souls of men
May deem that you are worthily depos'd.

K. Rich. Must I do so? and must I ravel
out

My weav'd-up folly? Gentle Northumberland,
If thy offences were upon record, 220

Would it not shame thee in so fair a troop
To read a lecture of them? If thou wouldst,²

There shouldst thou find one heinous article,—
Containing the deposing of a king,

And cracking the strong warrant of an oath,—

¹ Balm, the holy oil of consecration.

² If thou wouldst, i.e. wouldst read over a list of thy own deeds.

Mark'd with a blot, damn'd in the book of heaven:—

[Nay, all of you that stand and look upon,
Whilst that my wretchedness doth bait myself,—

Though some of you with Pilate wash your hands

Showing an outward pity; yet you Pilates 240
Have here deliver'd me to my sour¹ cross,
And water cannot wash away your sin.]

North. My lord, dispatch; read o'er these articles.

K. Rich. Mine eyes are full of tears, I cannot see:

And yet salt water blinds them not so much
But they can see a sort² of traitors here.

Nay, if I turn mine eyes upon myself,
I find myself a traitor with the rest;
For I have given here my soul's consent
T' undeck the pompous³ body of a king; 250
Made glory base and sovereignty a slave,
Proud majesty a subject, state a peasant.

North. My lord,—

K. Rich. No lord of thine, thou haught⁴ insulting man,

Nor no man's lord; I have no name, no title,—
No, not that name was given me at the font,—
But 't is usurp'd:—alack the heavy day,
That I have worn so many winters out,
And know not now what name to call myself!
O that I were a mockery king of snow, 260
Standing before the sun of Bolingbroke,
To melt myself away in water-drops!—
Good king, great king, and yet not greatly good,

An if my word be sterling yet in England,
Let it command a mirror hither straight,
That it may show me what a face I have,
Since it is bankrupt of his majesty.

Boling. Go some of you and fetch a looking-glass. [Exit an Attendant.

North. Read o'er this paper, while the glass doth come.

K. Rich. Fiend, thou torment'st me ere I come to hell! 270

Boling. Urge it no more, my Lord Northumberland.

North. The commons will not then be satisfi'd. 272

K. Rich. They shall be satisfi'd: I'll read enough,

When I do see the very book indeed
Where all my sins are writ, and that's—myself.

Re-enter Attendant, with a glass.

Give me the glass, and therein will I read.—

[Takes the glass and looks in it for a little time.

No deeper wrinkles yet? hath sorrow struck
So many blows upon this face of mine,
And made no deeper wounds?—O flatt'ring glass,

Like to my followers in prosperity, 280
Thou dost beguile me! Was this face the face
That every day under his household roof

Did keep ten thousand men? was this the face
That, like the sun, did make beholders wink?
Was this the face that fac'd so many follies,
And was at last out-fac'd by Bolingbroke?

A brittle glory shineth in this face:

As brittle as the glory is the face;

[Dashes the glass against the ground.

For there it is, crack'd in a hundred shivers.—
Mark, silent king, the moral of this sport, 290
How soon my sorrow hath destroy'd my face.

Boling. The shadow of your sorrow hath destroy'd

The shadow of your face.

K. Rich. Say that again.

The shadow of my sorrow! ha! let's see:
'T is very true, my grief lies all within;
And these external manners of lament
Are merely shadows to the unseen grief,
That swells with silence in the tortur'd soul;
There lies the substance: and I thank thee,
king,

For thy great bounty, that not only giv'st 300
Me cause to wail, but teachest me the way
How to lament the cause. I'll beg one boon,
And then be gone and trouble you no more.
Shall I obtain it?

Boling. Name it, my fair cousin.

K. Rich. "Fair cousin?" I am greater than a king:

For when I was a king, my flatterers
Were then but subjects; being now a subject,

¹ Sour, bitter.

² Pompous, stately.

³ Sort, company.

⁴ Haught, haughty.

I have a king here to my flatterer.
Being so great, I have no need to beg.

Boling. Yet ask. 310

K. Rich. And shall I have?

Boling. You shall.

K. Rich. Then give me leave to go.

Boling. Whither?

K. Rich. Whither you will, so I were from
your sights.

Boling. Go, some of you convey him to the
Tower.

K. Rich. O, good! convey? conveyers¹ are
you all,
That rise thus nimbly by a true king's fall.

[*Exeunt King Richard, some Lords,
and a Guard.*]

Boling. On Wednesday next we solemnly
set down

Our coronation: lords, prepare yourselves. 320

[*Exeunt all except the Bishop of Carlisle,
the Abbot of Westminster, and Aumerle.*]

Abbot. A woeful pageant have we here be-
held. 321

Car. The woe's to come; the children yet
unborn

Shall feel this day as sharp to them as thorn.

Aum. You holy clergymen, is there no plot
To rid the realm of this pernicious blot?

Abbot. My lord,

Before I freely speak my mind herein,

You shall not only take the sacrament

To bury mine intents, but to effect

Whatever I shall happen to devise.— 330

I see your brows are full of discontent,

Your hearts of sorrow and your eyes of tears:

Come home with me to supper; I will lay

A plot shall show us all a merry day.]

[*Exeunt.*]

ACT V.

SCENE I. *London. A street leading to
the Tower.*

Enter QUEEN and Ladies.

Queen. This way the king will come; this is
the way

To Julius Cæsar's ill-erected² tower,
To whose flint bosom my condemned lord
Is doom'd a prisoner by proud Bolingbroke:
Here let us rest, if this rebellious earth
Have any resting for her true king's queen.—
But soft, but see, or rather do not see,
My fair rose wither: yet look up, behold,
That you in pity may dissolve to dew, 9
And wash him fresh again with true-love tears.

Enter RICHARD and Guard.

Ah, thou, the model where old Troy did stand,
Thou map of honour, thou King Richard's
tomb,
And not King Richard; thou most beauteous
inn,

Why should hard-favour'd³ grief be lodg'd in
thee, 14

When triumph is become an alehouse guest?

K. Rich. Join not with grief, fair woman,
do not so,

To make my end too sudden: learn, good soul,

To think our former state a happy dream;

From which awak'd, the truth of what we are

Shows us but this: I am sworn brother, sweet,

To grim Necessity, and he and I 21

Will keep a league till death. [Hie thee to
France

And cloister thee in some religious house:

Our holy lives must win a new world's crown,

Which our profane hours here have stricken
down.]

Queen. What, is my Richard both in shape
and mind

Transform'd and weaken'd? hath Bolingbroke
depos'd

Thine intellect? hath he been in thy heart?

The lion dying thrusteth forth his paw,

And wounds the earth, if nothing else, with
rage 30

¹ *Conveyers*, "to convey" often meant "to steal;" so by
conveyers he means thieves.

² *Ill-erected*, i.e. erected under evil auspices.

To be o'er-power'd;¹ and wilt thou, pupil-like,
Take thy correction mildly, kiss the rod, 32
And fawn on rage with base humility,
Which art a lion and a king of beasts?



K. Rich. Good sometime queen, prepare thee hence for France:
Think I am dead.—(Act v. l. 37, 38.)

K. Rich. A king of beasts, indeed; if aught
but beasts,
I had been still a happy king of men.
Good sometime queen, prepare thee hence
for France:
Think I am dead; and that even here thou
tak'st,

As from my death-bed, thy last living leave.
In winter's tedious nights sit by the fire 40
With good old folks and let them tell thee tales
Of woeful ages long ago betid;²
And ere thou bid good night, to quit their
griefs,³

Tell thou the lamentable tale of me,
And send the hearers weeping to their beds:
[For why,⁴ the senseless brands will sym-
pathize⁵

The heavy accent of thy moving tongue;
And in compassion weep the fire out;
And some will mourn in ashes, some coal-black,
For the deposing of a rightful king.] 50

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND and others.

North. My lord, the mind of Bolingbroke
is chang'd;

You must to Pomfret, not unto the Tower.—
And, madam, there is order ta'en for you;
With all swift speed you must away to France.

K. Rich. Northumberland, thou ladder
wherewithal

The mounting Bolingbroke ascends my throne,
The time shall not be many hours of age
More than it is, ere foul sin gathering head
Shall break into corruption: thou shalt think,
Though he divide the realm and give thee half,
It is too little, helping him to all;⁶ 61
And he shall think that thou, which know'st
the way

To plant unrightful kings, wilt know again,
Being ne'er so little urg'd, another way
To pluck him headlong from the usurped
throne.

[The love of wicked men converts⁷ to fear;
That fear to hate; and hate turns one, or both,
To worthy⁸ danger and deserved death.]

North. My guilt be on my head, and there
an end.

Take leave, and part; for you must part forth-
with. 70

K. Rich. Doubly divorce'd!—Bad men, you
violate

¹ *Betid*, passed.

² *To quit their griefs*, i.e. to requite their grievous tales.

³ *For why*, because.

⁴ *Sympathize*, used here transitively.

⁵ *Helping him to all*, i.e. seeing that you have helped him to all. ⁷ *Converts*, changes. ⁸ *Worthy*, merited.

¹ *To be o'er-power'd*, at being overpowered.

A twofold marriage,—'twixt my crown and
me,
And then betwixt me and my married wife.—
Let me unkiss¹ the oath 'twixt thee and
me;
And yet not so, for with a kiss 't was made.—
[Part us, Northumberland; I towards the
north,
Where shivering cold and sickness pines² the
clime;
My wife to France: from whence, set forth in
pomp,
She came adorned hither like sweet May,
Sent back like Halloween or short'st of day.]
Queen. And must we be divided? must we
part?
K. Rich. Ay, hand from hand, my love, and
heart from heart.

Queen. Banish³ us both, and send the king
with me.
North. That were some love, but little
policy.
Queen. Then whither he goes, thither let
me go.
K. Rich. So two, together weeping, make
one woe.
Weep thou for me in France, I for thee here;
[Better far off than, near, be ne'er the
near.³
Go, count thy way with sighs; I mine with
groans.
Queen. So longest way shall have the longest
moans.
K. Rich. Twice for one step I'll groan, the
way being short,
And piece the way out with a heavy heart.]



York. With slow but stately pace kept on his course,
Whilst all tongues cried "God save thee, Bolingbroke!"—(Act v. 2, 10, 11.)

Come, come, in wooing sorrow let's be brief,
Since, wedding it, there is such length in
grief:
One kiss shall stop our mouths, and dumbly
part;
Thus give I mine,⁴ and thus take I thy heart.
[*They kiss.*

Queen. Give me mine own again; 't were no
good part
To take on me to keep and kill thy heart.
[*They kiss again.*
So, now I have mine own again, be gone,
That I may strive to kill it with a groan.
K. Rich. We make woe wanton with this
fond delay:
Once more, adieu; the rest let sorrow say.
[*Exeunt.*

¹ Unkiss, unmake by a kiss.
² The near—the nearer.

³ Pines, makes waste.
⁴ Mine, i.e. my heart.

SCENE II. *A room in the Duke of York's palace.*

Enter YORK and his DUCHESS.

Duch. My lord, you told me you would tell the rest,

When weeping made you break the story off,
Of our two cousins coming into London.

York. Where did I leave?¹

Duch. At that sad stop, my lord,
Where rude misgovern'd hands from windows' tops
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richard's head.

York. Then, as I said, the duke, great Bolingbroke,—

Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed
Which his aspiring rider seem'd to know,—
With slow but stately pace kept on his course,
Whilst all tongues cried "God save thee,
Bolingbroke!"¹¹

You would have thought the very windows spake,

So many greedy looks of young and old
Through casements darted their desiring eyes
Upon his visage, and that all the walls
With painted imagery had said at once
"Jesu preserve thee! welcome, Bolingbroke!"
Whilst he, from the one side to the other turning,

Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,

Bespake them thus;—"I thank you, countrymen:"²⁰

And thus still doing, thus he pass'd along.

Duch. Alack, poor Richard! where rode he the whilst?

York. As in a theatre, the eyes of men,
After a well-grac'd actor leaves the stage,
Are idly² bent on him that enters next,
Thinking his prattle to be tedious;
Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes
Did scowl on Richard; no man cried "God save him!"

No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home:
But dust was thrown upon his sacred head; so
Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off,—

His face still combating with tears and smiles,
The badges of his grief and³ patience,³—³³
That had not God, for some strong purpose, steel'd

The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted,

And barbarism itself have pitied him.

But heaven hath a hand in these events,

To whose high will we bound our calm contents.⁴

To Bolingbroke are we sworn subjects now,
Whose state and honour I for aye allow.⁴⁰

Duch. Here comes my son Aumerle.

York. Aumerle that was;

But that is lost for being Richard's friend,
And, madam, you must call him Rutland now:
I am in parliament pledge for his truth
And lasting fealty to the new-made king.

Enter AUMERLE.

Duch. Welcome, my son: who are the violets now

That strew the green lap of the new-come spring?

Aum. Madam, I know not, nor I greatly care not:

God knows I had as lief⁵ be none as one.

York. Well, bear you well⁶ in this new spring of time,⁵⁰

Lest you be cropp'd before you come to prime.
What news from Oxford? hold those justs and triumphs?⁷

Aum. For aught I know, my lord, they do.

York. You will be there, I know.

Aum. If God prevent not, ay; I suppose so.

York. What seal is that, that hangs without thy bosom?

Yea, look'st thou pale? let me see the writing.

Aum. My lord, 't is nothing.

York. No matter, then, who see it:
I will be satisfied; let me see the writing.

Aum. I do beseech your grace to pardon me:
It is a matter of small consequence,⁶¹
Which for some reasons I would not have seen.

¹ *Patience*, pronounced as a trisyllable.

² *Contents*, plural for the singular *content*.

³ *Had as lief* = would as soon.

⁴ *Bear you well*, i.e. conduct yourself with prudence.

⁵ *Triumphs*, tournaments.

¹ *Leave*, leave off.

² *Idly*, carelessly.

York. Which for some reasons, sir, I mean^o
to see. 68

I fear, I fear,—

Duch. What should you fear?

'T is nothing but some bond, that he is enter'd
into

For gay apparel 'gainst the triumph day.

York. Bound^o to himself! what doth he
with a bond

That he is bound to? Wife, thou art a
fool.—

Boy, let me see the writing.

Aum. Beseech you, pardon me; I may not
show it. 70



York. I will be satisfied; let me see it, I say.—(Act v. 2. 71.)

York. I will be satisfied; let me see it, I say.

[He plucks the document out of Aumerle's
bosom, and reads it.

Treason! foul treason!—Villain! traitor! slave!

Duch. What is the matter, my lord? 73

York. Ho! who is within there?

Enter a Servant.

Saddle my horse.

God for his mercy, what treachery is here!

Duch. Why, what is it, my lord?

York. Give me my boots, I say; saddle my
horse.— [Exit Servant.

Now, by mine honour, by my life, by my
troth,

I will appeach¹ the villain.

Duch. What is the matter?

York. Peace, foolish woman. 80

Duch. I will not peace.²—What is the mat-
ter, son? 81

Aum. Good mother, be content; it is no
more

Than my poor life must answer.

Duch. Thy life answer!

York. Bring me my boots:—I will unto the
king.

Re-enter Servant with boots.

Duch. Strike him,³ Aumerle.—Poor boy,
thou art amaz'd.

[To Servant] Hence, villain! never more come
in my sight.

York. Give me my boots, I say.

[Exit Servant.

Duch. Why, York, what wilt thou do?

Wilt thou not hide the trespass of thine own?

¹ Appeach, inform against.

² Peace, i.e. keep peace.

³ Him, i.e. the servant.

Have we more sons? or are we like to have? 90
Is not my teeming date¹ drunk up with time?
And wilt thou pluck my fair son from mine age,
And rob me of a happy mother's name?
Is he not like thee? is he not thine own?

York. Thou fond mad woman,
Wilt thou conceal this dark conspiracy?
A dozen of them here have ta'en the sacrament,

[*Striking the document with his hand.*

And interchangeably set down their hands,
To kill the king at Oxford.

Duch. He shall be none; 99
We'll keep him here: then what is that to him?

York. Away, fond woman! were he twenty times my son,
I would approach² him.

Duch. Hadst thou groan'd for him
As I have done, thou wouldst be more pitiful.
But now I know thy mind; thou dost suspect

That I have been disloyal to thy bed,
And that he is a bastard, not thy son:
Sweet York, sweet husband, be not of that mind:

He is as like thee as a man may be,
Not like to me, nor any of my kin,
And yet I love him.

York. Make way, unruly woman! 110

[*Exit.*

Duch. After, Aumerle! mount thee upon his horse;
Spur post, and get before him to the king,
And beg thy pardon ere he do accuse thee.
I'll not be long behind; though I be old,
I doubt not but to ride as fast as York:
And never will I rise up from the ground
Till Bolingbroke have pardon'd thee. Away,
be gone! [*Exeunt.*

[SCENE III. Windsor. A room in the castle.

Enter BOLINGBROKE, PERCY, and other Lords.

Boling. Can no man tell me of my unthrifty son?

'Tis full three months since I did see last:—

If any plague hang over us, 't is he.
I would to God, my lords, he might be found:
Inquire at London, 'mongst the taverns there,
For there, they say, he daily doth frequent,³
With unrestrained loose companions,
Even such, they say, as stand in narrow lanes,
And beat our watch, and rob our passengers;
While he, young wanton and effeminate boy,
Takes on the point of honour to support 11
So dissolute a crew.

Percy. My lord, some two days since I saw the prince,
And told him of those triumphs held⁴ at Oxford.

Boling. And what said the gallant?

Percy. His answer was,—he would unto the stews,
And from the common'st creature pluck a glove,
And wear it as a favour; and with that
He would unhorse the lustiest challenger.

Boling. As dissolute as desperate; yet through both 20
I see some sparkles of a better hope,
Which elder years may happily bring forth.—
But who comes here?

Enter AUMERLE hastily.

Aum. Where is the king?

Boling. What means
Our cousin, that he stares and looks so wildly?

Aum. God save your grace! I do bestech your majesty,
To have some conference with your grace alone.

Boling. Withdraw yourselves, and leave us here alone. [*Exeunt Percy and Lords.*
What is the matter with our cousin now?

Aum. For ever may my knees grow to the earth, 30
My tongue cleave to the roof within my mouth,

Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak.

Boling. Intended or committed was fault?

¹ Teeming date, i.e. period of child-bearing.

² Approach, inform against.

³ Frequent, used intransitively (only in this passage).

⁴ Held, to be held.

If on¹ the first, how heinous e'er it be, 34
To win thy after-love I² pardon thee.

Aum. Then give me leave that I may turn
the key,

That no man enter till my tale be done.

Boling. Have thy desire.

[*Aumerle rises, and locks the door.*]

York. [*Within*] My liege, beware: look to
thyself;

Thou hast a traitor in thy presence there. 40

Boling. Villain, I³ make thee safe.

[*Drawing.*]

Aum. Stay thy revengeful hand; thou hast
no cause to fear.

York. [*Within*] Open the door, secure,² fool-
hardy king:

Shall I, for love, speak treason to thy face?

Open the door, or I will break it open.

[*Bolingbroke unlocks the door, and after-
wards locks it again.*]

Enter YORK.

Boling. What is the matter, uncle? speak;
Recover breath; tell us how near is danger,
That we may arm us to encounter it.

York. Peruse this writing here, and thou
shalt know

The treason that my haste forbids me show. 50

Aum. Remember, as thou read'st, thy pro-
mise pass'd:

I do repent me; read not my name there;

My heart is not confederate with my hand.

York. 'T was, villain, ere thy hand did set it
down.—

I tore it from the traitor's bosom, king;

Fear, and not love, begets his penitence:

Forget to pity him, lest thy pity prove

A serpent that will sting thee to the heart.

Boling. O heinous, strong, and bold con-
spiracy!—

O loyal father of a treacherous son! 60

Thou sheer,³ immaculate, and silver foun-
tain,

From whence this stream through muddy pas-
sages

Hath held his current, and defil'd himself!

Thy overflow of good converts to bad,

And thy abundant goodness shall excuse

This deadly blot in thy digressing⁴ son. 65

York. So shall my virtue be his vice's bawd;
And he shall spend mine honour with his
shame,

As thriftless sons their scraping fathers' gold.



Aum. For ever may my knees grow to the earth,
My tongue cleave to the roof within my mouth,
Unless a pardon ere I rise or speak.—(Act v. 3. 30-32.)

Mine honour lives when his dishonour dies, 70
Or my sham'd life in his dishonour lies:

Thou kill'st me in his life; giving him breath,
The traitor lives, the true man's put to death.

Duch. [*Within*] What ho, my liege! for
God's sake, let me in.

¹ On, at. ² Secure, careless. ³ Sheer, pure.

⁴ Digressing, transgressing.

{ *Boling.* What shrill-voic'd suppliant makes
this eager cry? 75

Duch. [*Within*] A woman, and thy aunt,
great king; 'tis I.

Speak with me, pity me, open the door:
A beggar begs that never begged before.

Boling. Our scene is alter'd from a serious
thing,

And now chang'd to "The Beggar and the
King." 80

My dangerous cousin, let your mother in:
I know she's come to pray for your foul sin.

[*Aumerle unlocks the door.*]

York. If thou do pardon, whosoever pray,
More sins for this forgiveness prosper may.
This fester'd joint cut off, the rest rest sound;
This let alone will all the rest confound.¹

Enter DUCHESS.

Duch. O king, believe not this hard-hearted
man!

Love loving not itself, none other can.

York. Thou frantic woman, what dost thou
make here? 89

{ Shall thy old dugs once more a traitor rear?

{ *Duch.* Sweet York, be patient.—Hear me,
gentle liege. [*Kneels.*]

Boling. Rise up, good aunt.

Duch. Not yet, I thee beseech:

For ever will I walk upon my knees,
And never see day that the happy sees,
Till thou give joy; until thou bid me joy,
By pardoning Rutland, my transgressing boy.

Aum. Unto² my mother's prayers I bend my
knee.

York. Against them both my true joints
bended be.

I'll mayst thou thrive, if thou grant any grace!

Duch. Pleads he in earnest? look upon his
face; 100

His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are jest;
His words come from his mouth, ours from
our breast:

{ He prays but faintly and would be denied;
We pray with heart and soul, and all beside:
His weary joints would gladly rise, I know;
Our knees shall kneel till to the ground they
grow:

His prayers are full of false hypocrisy;
Ours of true zeal and deep integrity.

Our prayers do out-pray his; then let them
have

That mercy which true prayers ought to
have. 110

Boling. Good aunt, stand up.

Duch. Nay, do not say, "stand up;"

Say "pardon" first, and afterwards "stand
up."

An if I were thy nurse, thy tongue to teach,
"Pardon" should be the first word of thy
speech.

I never long'd to hear a word till now;
Say "pardon," king; let pity teach thee how:
The word is short, but not so short as sweet;
No word like "pardon" for kings' mouths so
meet.

York. Speak it in French, king; say, "par-
don-ne moy."³

Duch. [*To York*] Dost thou teach pardon par-
don to destroy? 120

Ah, my sour⁴ husband, my hard-hearted lord,
That set'st the word itself against the word!—
[*To Bolingbroke*] Speak "pardon" as 'tis cur-
rent in our land;

The chopping⁵ French we do not understand.
Thine eye begins to speak; set thy tongue
there;

Or in thy piteous heart plant thou thine ear;
That hearing how our complaints and prayers do
pierce,

Pity may move thee "pardon" to rehearse.

Boling. Good aunt, stand up. *

Duch. I do not sue to stand;

Pardon is all the suit I have in hand. 130

Boling. I pardon him, as God shall pardon
me.

Duch. O happy vantage of a kneeling knee!
Yet am I sick for fear: speak it again;
Twice saying "pardon" doth not pardon twain,
But makes one pardon strong.

Boling. With all my heart

I pardon him.

Duch. A god on earth thou art.

Boling. But for our trusty brother-in-law,
and the abbot,

* *Moy*, the old form of *moi*, pronounced so as to rhyme
with *destroy*.

⁴ *Sour*, bitter.

⁵ *Chopping*, i.e. changing one meaning for the other.

¹ *Confound*, destroy.

² *Unto*, in addition to.

With all the rest of that consorted crew,
Destruction straight shall dog them at the
heels.—

{ Good uncle, help to order¹ several powers 140
To Oxford, or where'er these traitors are:
They shall not live within this world, I swear,
But I will have them, if I once know where.
{ Uncle, farewell:—and, cousin mine, adieu:
Your mother well hath pray'd, and prove you
true.

Duch. Come, my old son: I pray God make
thee new. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *Another room in the same.*

Enter Sir PIERCE of EXTON and a Servant.

Exton. Didst thou not mark the king, what
words he spake,
"Have I no friend will² rid me of this living
fear?"

Was it not so?

Serv. These were his very words.

Exton. "Have I no friend?" quoth he: he
spake it twice,
And urg'd it³ twice together,—did he not?

Serv. He did.

Exton. And speaking it, he wistly⁴ look'd
on me;

As who should say, "I would thou wert the
man

That would divorce this terror from my heart;"
Meaning the king at Pomfret. Come, let's go:
I am the king's friend, and will rid⁵ his foe. 11
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE V. *Pomfret Castle.*

Enter KING RICHARD.

K. Rich. I have been studying how I may
compare

This prison, where I live, unto the world:
And, for because the world is populous,
And here is not a creature but myself,
I cannot do it;—yet I'll hammer't out.
My brain I'll prove the female to my soul,
My soul the father; and these two beget

¹ To order, to marshal.

² Will, i.e. who will.

³ Urg'd it, laid stress on it.

⁴ Wistly, earnestly.

⁵ Rid, remove.

A generation of still-breeding⁶ thoughts,
And thesesame thoughtspeople this little world,
In humours⁷ like the people of this world, 10
For no thought is content. [The better sort,—
As thoughts of things divine,—are intermix'd]



K. Rich. how these vain weak nails
May tear a passage through the flinty ribs
Of this hard world, my ragged prison walls.—(Act v. 5. 19-21.)

With scruples, and do set the word itself
Against the word:
As thus, "Come, little ones," and then again,
"It is as hard to come as for a camel
To thread the postern of a needle's eye."
Thoughts tending to ambition, they do plot
Unlikely wonders; how these vain weak nails

⁶ Still-breeding, constantly breeding.

⁷ Humours, dispositions.

May tear a passage through the flinty ribs 20
Of this hard world, my ragged¹ prison walls,
And, for they cannot, die in their own pride.
Thoughts tending to content flatter them-
selves

That they are not the first of fortune's slaves,
Nor shall not be the last; like silly beggars,
Who, sitting in the stocks, refuge² their shame,
That³ many have,⁴ and others must sit there;
And in this thought they find a kind of ease,
Bearing their own misfortune on the back
Of such as have before endur'd the like.] 30

Thus play I, in one person, many people,
And none contented: sometimes am I king;
Then treason makes me wish myself a beggar,
And so I am: then crushing penury
Persuades me I was better when a king;
Then am I king'd again: and by and by
Think that I am unking'd by Bolingbroke,
And straight am nothing: [but whate'er I
am,

Nor I, nor any man that but man is 39
With nothing shall be pleas'd, till he be eas'd
With being nothing.—Music do I hear? [*Music.*
Ha, ha! keep time:—how sour sweet music is,
When time is broke, and no proportion kept!
So is it in the music of men's lives.

And here have I the daintiness of ear
To check⁵ time broke in a disorder'd string;
But, for the concord of my state and time,
Had not an ear to hear my true time broke.
I wasted time, and now doth time waste me;
For now hath time made me his numbering
clock: 50

thoughts are minutes; and with sighs they
jar⁶

Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward
watch,

Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.
Now, sir, the sound that tells what hour it is
Are clamorous groans, which strike upon my
heart,

Which is the bell: so sighs, and tears, and
groans,

Show minutes, times, and hours: but my time
Runs posting on in Bolingbroke's proud joy,

While I stand fooling here, his Jack o' the
clock. 60

This music mads me; let it sound no more;
For though it have help madmen to their
wits,

In me it seems it will make wise men mad.
Yet blessing on his heart that gives it me!
For 't is a sign of love; and love to Richard
Is a strange brooch⁷ in this all-hating world.]

Enter a Groom of the Stable.

Groom. Hail, royal prince!

K. Rich. Thanks, noble peer;
The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.

What art thou? and how com'st thou hither,
Where no man ever comes, but that sad⁸ dog
That brings me food to make misfortune live?

Groom. I was a poor groom of thy stable,
king, 72

When thou wert king; who, travelling towards
York,

With much ado at length have gotten leave
To look upon my sometimes⁹ master's face.
O, how it yearn'd¹⁰ my heart, when I beheld
In London streets, that coronation-day,

When Bolingbroke rode on roan Barbary!
That horse that thou so often hast bestrid,
That horse that I so carefully have dress'd! so

K. Rich. Rode he on Barbary? Tell me,
gentle friend,

How went he under him?

Groom. So proud as if he had disdain'd the
ground.

K. Rich. So proud that Bolingbroke was on
his back! •

That jade hath eat bread from my royal hand;
This hand hath made him proud with clapping
him.

Would he not stumble? would he not fall
down,

Since pride must have a fall,—and break the
neck

Of that proud man that did usurp his back?
Forgiveness, horse! why do I rail on thee, so
Since thou, created to be aw'd by man,
Wast born to bear? I was not made a horse;
And yet I bear a burthen like an ass,

¹ Ragged, rough.

² Refuge, find a refuge for.

³ That, i.e. in the thought that. ⁴ Have, i.e. have sat.

⁵ Check, rebuke.

⁶ Jar, tick.

⁷ Brooch, an ornamental buckle worn in the hat.

⁸ Sad, grave.

⁹ Sometimes, formerly.

¹⁰ It yearned, it grieved.

Spurr'd, gall'd, and tir'd by jauncing¹ Boling-
broke. 94

Enter Keeper, with a dish.

Keep. [To the Groom] Fellow, give place;
here is no longer stay.

K. Rich. If thou love me, 't is time thou
wert away.

Groom. What my tongue dares not, that my
heart shall say. [Exit.

Keep. My lord, will 't please you to fall to?
K. Rich. Taste of it first, as thou art wont
to do. 99

Keep. My lord, I dare not: Sir Piers of Ex-
ton, who lately came from the king, commands
the contrary.



K. Rich. Exton, thy fierce hand
Hath with the king's blood stain'd the king's own land.—(Act v. 5. 110, 111.)

K. Rich. The devil take Henry of Lancaster
and thee! 103
Patience is stale, and I am weary of it.

[Beats the Keeper.
Keep. Help, help, help!

Enter EXTON and Servants, armed.

K. Rich. How now! what means death in
this rude assault?
Villain, thy own hand yields thy death's in-
strument.

[Snatching an axe from a Servant, and
killing him.

Go thou, and fill another room in hell.

[He kills another Servant. Then Exton
strikes him down.

That hand shall burn in never-quenching fire
That staggers thus my person.—Exton, thy
fierce hand 110
Hath with the king's blood stain'd the king's
own land.—

Mount, mount, my soul! thy seat is up on high;
Whilst my gross flesh sinks downward, here
to die. [Dies.

[Exton. As full of valour as of royal blood:
Both have I spill'd;—O, would the deed were
good!

¹ Jauncing, i.e. fretting the horse to make it prance.

{ For now the devil, that told me I did well,
 { Says that this deed is chronicled in hell. 117
 { This dead king to the living king I'll bear:—
 { Take hence the rest, and give them burial
 { here.] [Exeunt.

SCENE VI. A room in Windsor Castle.

Flourish. Enter BOLINGBROKE, YORK, with
 other Lords, and Attendants.

Boling. Kind uncle York, the latest news
 we hear
 Is that the rebels have consum'd with fire
 Our town of Cicester in Glostershire;
 But whether they be ta'en or slain we hear not.

Enter NORTHUMBERLAND.

Welcome, my lord: what is the news?
North. First, to thy sacred state wish I all
 happiness.
 The next news is,—I have to London sent
 The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt, and
 Kent:
 The manner of their taking may appear
 At large discoursed in this paper here. 10
Boling. We thank thee, gentle Percy, for
 thy pains;
 And to thy worth will add right worthy gains.

Enter FITZWATER.

Fitz. My lord, I have from Oxford sent to
 London
 The heads of Brocas, and Sir Bennet Seely,
 Two of the dangerous consorted traitors
 That sought at Oxford thy dire overthrow.
Boling. Thy pains, Fitzwater, shall not be
 forgot;
 Right noble is thy merit, well I wot.

{ [Enter PERCY, and the BISHOP OF CARLISLE.

{ *Percy.* The grand conspirator, Abbot of
 Westminster,
 { With clog of conscience and sour melancholy,

60

Hath yielded up his body to the grave; 21
 But here is Carlisle living, to abide
 Thy kingly doom and sentence of his pride.
Boling. Carlisle, this is your doom:—
 Choose out some secret place, some reverend
 room,
 More than thou hast, and with it joy thy life;
 So as thou liv'st in peace, die free from strife:
 For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
 High sparks of honour in thee have I seen.]

Enter EXTON, with persons bearing a coffin.

Exton. Great king, within this coffin I pre-
 sent 30

Thy buried fear: herein all breathless lies
 The mightiest of thy greatest enemies,
 Richard of Bordeaux, by me hither brought.

Boling. Exton, I thank thee not; for thou
 hast wrought

A deed of slander,¹ with thy fatal hand,
 Upon my head and all this famous land.

Exton. From your own mouth, my lord, did
 I this deed.

Boling. They love not poison that do poison
 need,

Nor do I thee: though I did wish him dead,
 I hate the murderer, love him murdered. 40
 The guilt of conscience take thou for thy labour,
 But neither my good word nor princely favour:
 With Cain go wander through the shades of
 night,

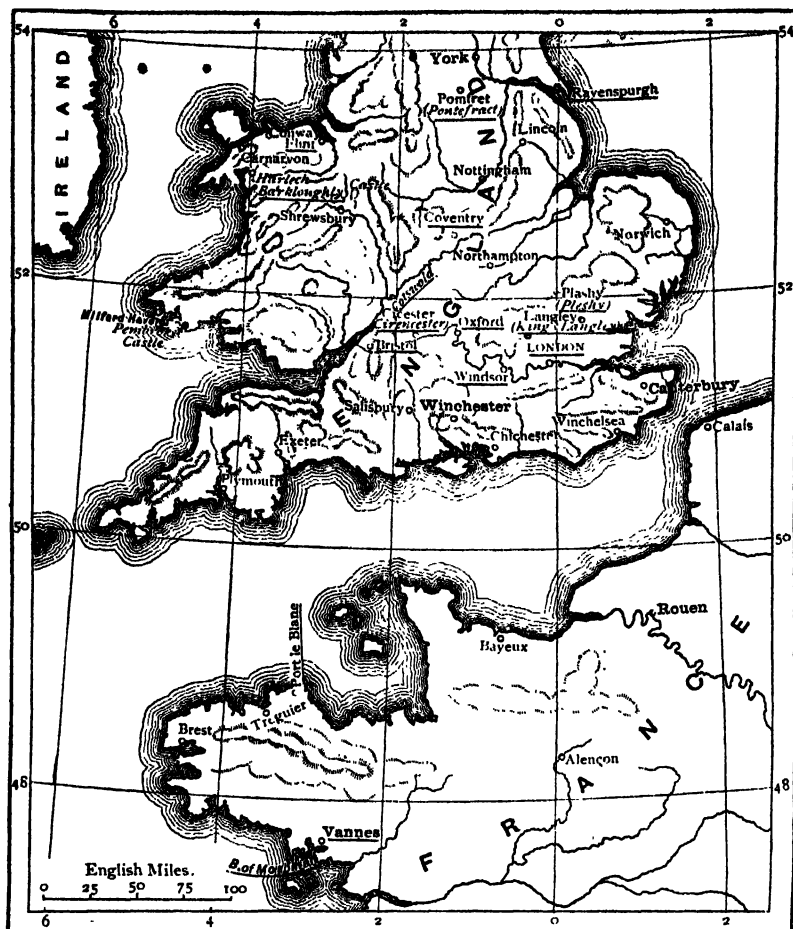
And never show thy head by day nor light.—
 Lords, I protest, my soul is full of woe,
 That blood should sprinkle me to make me
 grow.

Come, mourn with me for that I do lament,
 And put on sullen² black incontinent:³
 I'll make a voyage to the Holy Land, 49
 To wash this blood off from my guilty hand:—
 March sadly after; grace my mournings here;
 In weeping over this untimely bier. [Exeunt.

¹ A deed of slander, i.e. a deed which will give ground
 for slander against me.

² Sullen, gloomy. ³ Incontinent, immediately.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE KING RICHARD II.



NOTES TO KING RICHARD II.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

1. RICHARD II. was the second son of Edward, commonly called the Black Prince, the eldest son of Edward III. and Philippa or Philippine, daughter of William, Count of Hainault. Edward the Black Prince married Joan, known as the Fair Maid of Kent, widow of Sir Thomas Holland, one of the original Twenty-five Knights of the Garter, and only daughter and heir of Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent (who was beheaded in 1330), the youngest son of Edward I., by his second wife, Margaret, the daughter of Philip III. and sister of Philip IV. of

France. Hollinshed says that Joan "was also wife vnto the erle of Salisburie, and diuorced from him" (vol. ii. p. 676). She bore her husband two sons, Edward, who died at Bordeaux, when only seven years old, in 1372; and Richard, born at Bordeaux, January 8th, 1366. On the "eight of June, being Trinitie sundale" (according to Hollinshed, vol. ii. p. 703), the Black Prince died. Edward III. immediately made young Richard, then in his tenth year, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester and Cornwall. The king survived his eldest son little more than a year, dying on June 21st, 1377. He had previously made the ambitious John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, governor of

the kingdom. The people were very jealous of the influence of this nobleman, and not without reason; for there is little doubt that he tried all he could to induce the king to pass over the daughter of his elder brother, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and to make him the next heir after Richard.

The young king was crowned on July 16th, 1377; but it was not till twelve years afterwards, on May 8th, 1389, that he can be said to have begun to reign. In the interim his two uncles, the Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, practically governed; though a Council of Twelve had been appointed by the Lords to hold the supreme power during the king's minority. There is no doubt that much of the evil reputation which attaches to the reign of Richard II. is due to the grasping ambition and vindictive cruelty of his uncles. This play treats only of the events of the last two years of Richard's unhappy reign. The year before the play opens, 1397, the Duke of Gloucester had been murdered (see note 37); and, as Mr. Russell French remarks in his *Shakspeariana Genealogica*, it was this "deed of crime which in a great measure led the way to the complications, and final catastrophe, recorded in the drama" (p. 24). Richard was twice married; first, on January 14th, 1382, to Anne of Bohemia, known as The Good Queen Anne, daughter of Charles IV., Emperor of Germany. She died without issue on June 7th, 1394. In November, 1396, he married Isabel, who was then in her tenth year. The date of King Richard's death is generally fixed on the 14th February, 1400, St. Valentine's day; but the exact date, and the manner of it, are both uncertain (see note 317).

2. JOHN OF GAUNT (or Ghent), so called from the town in which he was born, in 1340, Duke of Lancaster, was the fourth son of Edward III. The first mention we find of him in history is as accompanying his father-in-law, Henry, Duke of Lancaster, and his brother Lionel, in the fleet which was prepared for the purpose of attacking the coast of Normandy in 1355. Next we find him, as Earl of Richmond, accompanying his father to Calais in the Michaelmas of the same year. Holinshed (vol. ii. p. 656) says: "This yeare also, about Michaelmasse, the king hauing summoned an armie to be readie at Sandwich, passed ouer to Calis with the same. There went ouer with him his two sonnes, Lionell of Antwerp earle of Vlster, and John of Gant earle of Richmond." In May, 1359, he married his cousin, the Lady Blanch, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster, at Reading, having obtained a dispensation from the pope. In the same year he distinguished himself, in the company of his father and his brothers, Lionel and Edmund, at some "solemne iusts enterprised at London" (Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 671). At this time he was still known as Earl of Richmond; but on the death of his father-in-law Henry, Duke of Lancaster, in 1361, he succeeded to his titles of Earl of Derby and Duke of Lancaster. He accompanied the Black Prince in his expedition into Spain in 1367, and commanded the first division of his army. He was sent by his father in 1369 in command of an army into France to oppose the Duke of Burgundy. In 1370 his wife Blanch died. In the same year he took part in the siege of

Limoges; and was left Governor of Aquitaine by the Black Prince during his visit to England. In 1372 he married Constance, eldest daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile; his brother Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, marrying her sister Isabel about the same time. Shortly after this marriage he returned to England, and assumed the title of King of Castile in right of his wife. In July, 1373, he was again sent over to Calais with an army. He reached Bordeaux at Christmas in the same year, when peace was concluded; and in July, the following year, he returned to England. He was one of the commissioners appointed to arrange a treaty of peace with France on behalf of the King of England at Bruges, 1375. In 1376 the House of Commons made a complaint against the Duke of Lancaster, Lord Latimer, Alice Perers, and others; and they all appear to have been banished the court; but, after the death of the Black Prince, in June of the same year, they were recalled to court; and the Duke of Lancaster being appointed Governor of the Realm, continued so till the end of his father's reign. Having taken Wicliff under his protection, he supported him in his trial before the Archbishop of Canterbury in the next year, 1377. In the course of the trial he addressed a very rude speech to Courtenay, Bishop of London; the people took the bishop's part, attacked the duke's palace in the Savoy, reversed his arms, as if he had been a traitor, and would have killed him if they could have caught him. John of Gaunt did not forget this insult; and for some time there was ill blood between him and the citizens of London. The dispute between them was put an end to by the young king Richard, in 1377. In 1394, Constance, the second wife of John of Gaunt, died about the same time that the Good Queen Anne died, and also the wife of Henry Bolingbroke. In 1396 the duke married Catherine Swynford, "widow of Sir Otes Swynford, and eldest daughter and co-heir of Sir Payn Roet, Knight, Guienne King at Arms" (French, p. 25). The marriage gave great offence, as she had lived with him as his mistress. The children he had by her before his marriage were legitimized under the name of Beaufort, one of the duke's castles in Anjou, where they were born. "Time-honoured" John of Gaunt seems to have maintained the chief power in the kingdom for the first twenty years of his nephew's reign. In 1390 he had been made Duke of Aquitaine. After the death of the Duke of Gloucester in 1397, the Duke of Lancaster and his brother, the Duke of York, assembled an army of their dependants with the intention of revenging their brother's death; but they were reconciled to the king before any collision could take place. The banishment of Bolingbroke in 1398 showed that the king did not forget his grudge against his uncle; and how little good feeling he bore him was further manifested by the unjustifiable seizure of his goods immediately after his death, which took place at the Bishop of Ely's place in Holborn early in the following year, 1399. John of Gaunt was the friend and patron of Chaucer, whose wife was a sister of Catherine Swynford.

3. EDMUND OF LANGLEY (so called from his birthplace, Langley, near St. Albans), Duke of York, the fifth son of Edward III., was born in 1341. He "married first Isabel,

youngest daughter of Peter the Cruel, King of Castile and Leon, by whom he had one daughter, Constance, married to Thomas le Despencer, Earl of Gloucester, who is the 'Spencer' mentioned in act iv. sc. 6, beheaded for his adherence to King Richard; the two sons of Edmund of Langley's first marriage were, Edward, who is the 'Aumerle' of this play, and Richard of Coningsburg, who is the 'Earl of Cambridge' in King Henry V., and who married Anne Mortimer" (French, p. 23). She was the sister of Edmund Mortimer, the rightful heir to the crown after the death of Richard II. Edmund of Langley was known in early youth as the Earl of Cambridge, and was created Duke of York in 1335. In history, his character is generally represented as that of a man of indolent nature, fond of the chase, and of an easy disposition. Malone quotes Hardyng's Chronicle (MS. Harleian, No. 661, Fol. 147):

That *Edmonde*, hight of *Langley*, of good chere
Glede and mery, and of his owne ay lived
Withoutyn wronge, as chroniclers have breved.
When al lordes went to counsels and parliement,
He wolde to huntres and also to hawkynge.

—Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 47.

Daniel thus describes him:

Langley; whose mild Temperateness
Did tend unto a calmer Quietness.

—Civil War, bk. i. st. xxv.

In the Egerton MS. play (act ii.) Richard first calls him (Reprint, p. 23):

The counterfeit relenting duke of yorke.

But shortly afterwards (p. 25) he speaks of him thus:

But Yorke is gentle, myld and generous.

Bearing in mind the development of York's character in Shakespeare's play, the inconsistency of the two passages just quoted is worth noticing. At the accession of Henry IV. he retired to his palace at King's Langley, and died in 1402.

4. HENRY BOLINGBROKE, Duke of Hereford. Henry of Bolingbroke (so called from his birthplace, Bolingbroke Castle in Lincolnshire), son of John of Gaunt by Blanche, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. He was born in 1366, and was therefore of the same age as King Richard. It appears that they were rivals in childhood as through life. French says (p. 26) "Richard accused his cousin of having drawn sword upon him even in his queen's chamber, and Bolingbroke told the king that the people believed him to be the son of a priest, and not of the Black Prince." (See note 275.) He was created Earl of Derby by Richard II., in 1385, and Duke of Hereford in 1397. He married, in 1385, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford. He was one of the five lords appellant in 1387.

5. EDWARD PLANTAGENET, eldest son of the Duke of York, was created Earl of Rutland in 1386, and Duke of Aumerle (Albemarle) in 1397. He appears to have been always plotting and intriguing against some one or other. He took a very prominent part in the overthrow of the Duke of Gloucester in 1397, and was, indeed, suspected of being implicated in the murder of that nobleman. He accompanied King Richard in his unfortunate expedition to Ireland in 1399; and it was owing to his urgent persuasions that the king delayed crossing over to England im-

mediately he received the news of Bolingbroke's landing at Ravenspur. The consequence of this delay was that, after waiting a fortnight, the army collected at Conway for the king disbanded, when all hopes of Richard saving his crown were destroyed (see note 187). Aumerle was, however, soon plotting against Bolingbroke. He was degraded by Henry IV. to his former rank of Earl of Rutland; but was subsequently restored to favour and succeeded his father as Duke of York, under which name he will be found among the Dramatis Personæ of Henry V. He was killed at the battle of Agincourt in 1415. On the occasion of the lists held at Coventry for the decision of the appeal between Bolingbroke and Norfolk, Aumerle was acting as Lord High Constable.

6. THOMAS MOWBRAY, created Earl of Nottingham, 1388, and Duke of Norfolk, 1397, in virtue of his descent from Edward the First's younger son, Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England. His grandfather, John de Mowbray, married the Lady Joan Plantagenet, daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster, and sister of the first wife of John of Gaunt. His father, the fourth Lord Mowbray, married Elizabeth Segrave, only daughter and heir of John, Lord Segrave, by his wife, Margaret Plantagenet, Duchess of Norfolk, the eldest daughter of Thomas of Brotherton; so that this Thomas Mowbray was doubly connected with the Plantagenet family. He was one of the five lords, who, in conjunction with the Duke of Gloucester, accused Robert Vere, Duke of Ireland, and other favourites of the king, of treason; in the same year, 1388, Richard in a proclamation acquitted them of treason, and took both parties, accusers and accused, under his protection. The five lords, who were called lords appellant, of whom Bolingbroke was one, ultimately gained the day, and their enemies were attainted of treason by what was known as the Wonderful Parliament in 1388; and Tresilian, chief-justice, and others were executed. At the instance of the Dukes of Lancaster and York, the king and the five lords were reconciled in 1390; but Mowbray seems to have separated himself from the Duke of Gloucester's faction, for he was sent as Earl Marshal by the king to Calais, after the arrest of the Duke of Gloucester. As Holinshed says (vol. ii. p. 837), "to make the duke secretlie awaie." It is doubtful, however, whether Mowbray really had any share in the death of Gloucester, although there was some question as to attempting to punish the earl marshal for his supposed complicity in that mysterious crime. In 1398, at the Parliament held at Shrewsbury, Henry Bolingbroke accused Mowbray of treason. It is at this point that the play commences. Norfolk died in 1399 (see note 262). By his second wife, Elizabeth Fitzalan, daughter of the Earl of Arundel, who was executed in 1397, he had two sons, Thomas, the Lord Mowbray of the Second Part of King Henry IV., and John Mowbray, who was restored to his father's dignity as Duke of Norfolk, and who is grandfather of the Duke of Norfolk in the Third Part of King Henry VI. His eldest daughter, Margaret, married Sir Robert Howard. Their son is the "Jockey of Norfolk" in Richard III.

7. THOMAS HOLLAND, Earl of Kent. He was the "third Earl of Kent, son of Thomas, second earl, by his wife,

Alice Fitzalan, eldest daughter of Richard, ninth Earl of Arundel, and grandson of Sir Thomas Holland, K.G., and Joan, 'Fair Maid of Kent' (French, p. 30). He was therefore nephew of King Richard II., and brother to the second wife of Edmund, Duke of York. Lingard, by a mistake (vol. iii. p. 380), calls him the king's uterine brother, coupling him with the Earl of Huntingdon; the latter was the king's uterine brother, and uncle to this Thomas of Holland, who was created Duke of Surrey, September 29th, 1397. He was the only one who ever bore this title. Holinshed, in giving an account of the execution of the Earl of Arundel in 1397, mentions among the six great lords who were present: "Nottingham (that had married his daughter), Kent (that was his daughter's son)" (vol. ii. p. 841). He was degraded by Henry IV., at his accession, to the rank of earl; and joining in the plot against that king with the Earl of Salisbury, he was executed by the people of the town of Cirencester about the beginning of the year 1400 (see note 328).

8. EARL OF SALISBURY. Sir John de Montacute, third Earl of Salisbury of that surname, the son of Sir John de Montacute, one of the heroes of Cressy, was descended from Edward I. through his maternal grandfather, Ralph de Monthermer, who married the Princess Joan of Acres, daughter of that monarch. He was a supporter of the Lollards and Wicliffites. He was charged by Lord Morley (October 29th, 1399) with having betrayed the secrets of the Duke of Gloucester to King Richard; gages were interchanged between the appellant and defendant, but nothing came of it. Salisbury joined in the rebellion of some of the lords against Henry IV., and was executed by the populace at Cirencester, in January, 1400. His son Thomas, who was restored to the honours forfeited by his father's rebellion, was the valliant Earl of Salisbury in Henry V. and in the First Part of Henry VI. From this Earl of Salisbury's younger brother, Sir Simon de Montacute, the present ducal house of Manchester is descended.

9. LORD BERKELEY. Wrongly called by some editors *Earl* of Berkeley; the rank of *earl* not having been granted to the family till the reign of Charles II. This Lord Berkeley was Thomas, the fifth baron, descended from the feudal lords of Berkeley Castle, county of Gloucester. He married Margaret de Lisle, only daughter of the last Lord de Lisle. They had one daughter, Elizabeth, who married Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. Lord Berkeley was one of the four sureties for Lord Morley when he accused Lord Salisbury in the Parliament of 1399. See above, note 8.

10. BUSHY. Sir John Bushy, or, as he is sometimes called, Busy, was speaker of the House of Commons in 1397. He was one of the twelve commissioners to whom the power of both Houses of Parliament was delegated in 1398. It was mainly owing to his instigation that the Earl of Arundel was condemned to death, and the Archbishop of Canterbury exiled in 1397. Holinshed thus describes him: "sir John *Bushie*, a knight of Lincolnshire, accompted to be an exceeding cruell man, ambitious and couetous beyond measure" (vol. ii. p. 839). He was executed in August, 1399.

11. BAGOT was Sir William Bagot, and was sheriff of the county of Leicester in 1382-1383. French says: "He escaped from Bristol Castle, and joined the king in Ireland, but on his return was committed by Henry IV. to the Tower, whence he was released November 12, 1400, and being received into favour, served again in Parliament." . . . "Bolingbroke, the night before his intended combat with Mowbray, lodged at Sir William Bagot's manor-house at Baginton, a short distance from Gosford-green, near Coventry" (p. 33).

12. GREEN was Sir Henry Green, son of Sir Henry Green, Justice of the King's Bench, in the reign of Edward III. He is first mentioned in connection with the horrible death of the Carmelite friar who, in 1383, accused the Duke of Lancaster of treason. This friar was committed to the charge of Lord John Holland, the king's half-brother, and was by him, and Sir Henry Green, brutally murdered in prison before any judicial inquiry into the truth of his statements (see Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 768). Green, Bagot, and Bushy were the three prolocutors who "set forth the king's greevances" (Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 839). Holinshed says (p. 843) they were all three "knights of the Bath, against whom the commons vndoubtedlie bare great and priele hatred." In the Egerton MS. play, Green is killed by the Earl of Arundel and Sir Thomas Cheney after the murder of Gloucester. He was, in reality, executed with Bushy at Berkeley Castle in 1399.

13. EARL OF NORTHUMBERLAND. He was the son of Henry Percy, who was the son of the third Baron Percy of Alnwick, one of the heroes of Cressy. He married Mary Plantagenet, youngest daughter of Henry, Earl of Lancaster. He was created Earl of Northumberland at Richard's coronation in 1377. He took a prominent part in Bolingbroke's rebellion; but afterwards, with his son Hotspur and others, rebelled against Bolingbroke who had then become Henry IV. After the death of his son at the sanguinary battle of Shrewsbury on July 21st, 1403, by a submission not very honourable to himself, he obtained pardon, and was restored to his estates. But in May, 1405, in conjunction with Archbishop Scrope, Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal (son of the Duke of Norfolk mentioned in this play), Northumberland again raised the standard of rebellion. This time the attempt was quite abortive, and in conjunction with Lord Bagdolf he escaped to Scotland, where he led a precarious life, till on February 10th, 1408, having again appeared in arms, he was killed at the battle of Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster.

14. HENRY PERCY, surnamed Hotspur. This is the Henry Percy who is so important a character in I. Henry IV. It will be better to deal with his history when we come to that play.

15. LORD ROSS. William de Ros succeeded his brother John, who was the sixth Baron. He was the son of Thomas de Ros, the fifth Baron, who married Beatrice Stafford, eldest daughter of Ralph, Earl of Stafford, K.G. French says (p. 36): "He was summoned to Parliament from 1394 to 1413. Henry IV. rewarded his services by appointing him Lord Treasurer of England, and a K.G. He stood very high in that monarch's favour, and died at

Belvoir in 1414. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Arundell, and his male line ended in his grandson, Edmund de Eoe, who died unmarried in 1508."

16. LORD WILLOUGHBY. William de Willoughby, fifth Baron Willoughby de Eresby, was summoned to Parliament from 1396 to 1400, in which year he died.

17. LORD FITZWATER. Walter Fitzwater, or Fitzwalter, fifth Baron Fitzwalter, was descended from Robert Fitzwalter, the general of the Barons confederated against King John, and styled by them "Marshall of the Army of God and the Church." This Baron Fitzwalter died in 1407. He married Joan, daughter of Sir John Devereux, the sister and heir of John, second Baron Devereux, uniting by that alliance the two families of Fitzwalter and Devereux. Hollnshed, speaking of the accusation of treason against the Duke of Aumerle, says (vol. iii. p. 5): "The lord Fitzwater herewith rose up, and said to the king, that where the duke of Aumerle excuseth himselfe of the duke of Gloucesters death, I say (quoth he) that he was the verie cause of his death, and so he appealed him of treason, offering by throwing downe his hood as a gage to proue it with his bodie."

18. BISHOP OF CARLISLE. This was "Thomas Merk, or Merkes, who had been a Benedictine monk at Westminster, and was appointed to the see of Carlisle in 1397. He was much employed in secular matters both at home and abroad. His was the only dissentient voice raised in Parliament against the deposed Richard being sentenced to secret and close imprisonment; and he was deprived of his bishopric, and sent to the Tower for his attachment to his ill-fated master" (French, p. 38). "He was committed to the Tower, but was liberated on the 23d of June, 1400, and delivered into the custody of the Abbot of Westminster. He was pardoned and allowed to go at large on 28th Nov. 1400. On 13th Aug. 1404, he was presented by the Abbot of Westminster to the rectory of Todenham in Gloucestershire, and probably died about the end of the year 1409, as his successor in the living 'was instituted 13th Jan. 1409-10 per mortem Thomæ Me.ks'" [Le Neve's Fasti, ed Hardy, vol. iii. p. 237 (Clarendon Press Edn. p. 158)]. According to Bishop Kennet, it was to the vicarage of Sturminster-Marshall, in Dorsetshire, that Thomas Merk was appointed by King Henry IV. He enjoyed a very high reputation; and, according to French (p. 38): "It is expressly stated in the writ for his enlargement, dated at Westminster, November 23, 1400 (Rymer's Fœdera), that Thomas Merk, late Bishop of Carlisle, was pardoned on account of the excellence of his character."

19. ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER. This ecclesiastic has generally been supposed to have been William of Colchester; but French (p. 39) thinks that "the abbot who took part in the latter scenes of this play was his successor, Richard Harouden, or Harweden." Dart in his History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, after speaking of the date of the death of William of Colchester, which he states was uncertain, says: "Richard Harouden is next nam'd, of whom we know nothing certain, but during this interval of Darkness I find the

year before the Deposition of Richard II. the Abbat of Westminster attending Richard II. into Ireland, and after his Return appointed with others to go to him in the Tower, concerning his Resignation; and soon after concern'd at his Usage, join'd with the Dukes of Exeter, Surrey, and Aumarle, &c. the Bishop of Carlisle, and principally the Abbat of Westminster, had an uncommon aversion to Henry IV., for that when the Earl of Darby, he had declared the Clergy had too much, and the King too little; but I rather think out of a true Loyalty to release their captiv'd Sovereign, but this being discover'd and several executed the Abbat fled from his Monastery, and dying of an Apoplex, escap'd publick Execution. This Harouden I take to be the Man whom the Monks privately buried without Tomb or Inscription; nor do we know in what part of the Church they laid him probably, for Fear; but as I am not certain, I leave it doubtful" (vol. ii. p. xxxii. ed. 1742). This passage is quoted by French but with many inaccuracies. I have transcribed it from Dart's work. As French gives it, it makes perfect nonsense; and it must be confessed that, even when correctly quoted, it is far from intelligible. The writer apparently means to say that this Richard Harweden joined in Aumerle's conspiracy, not so much out of hatred to Henry IV. as from a feeling of loyal sympathy for the deposed and imprisoned Richard. When the conspiracy was discovered, the abbot fled; and afterwards died a natural death from apoplexy. This tallies to a certain extent with Shakespeare's account (v. 6 19-21):

The grand conspirator, Abbot of Westminster,
With clog of conscience and sour melancholy,
Hath yielded up his body to the grave.

It would appear that there is a great discrepancy between the different authorities as to the date of William of Colchester's death; and, on the whole, it seems most probable that the Abbot, mentioned in this play, was Richard Harouden. Both Grafton and Rapin agree that this Abbot of Westminster, who played such an important part in Aumerle's conspiracy, died suddenly of a fit; and this corresponds both with Shakespeare's account, and with that given by Dart, of Harouden's death. If the Abbot of this play was William of Colchester, it is, as French points out, very unlikely that he would have been allowed to escape unpunished, and to continue in the enjoyment of his high office for fourteen years after his having taken part in such a conspiracy. It is also remarkable that none of the historians mention that William of Colchester died either a violent, or a sudden death.

20. LORD MARSHAL. As Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was Earl Marshal, the Duke of Surrey (see above, note 48) acted as Lord Marshal in the lists at Gosford Green, near Coventry.

21. SIR STEPHEN SCROOP. He was the son of Henry le Scrope, first Baron Scroop or Scrope of Masham. He had been distinguished as a soldier, and served in France and Flanders. He was strongly attached to King Richard II.; but after that monarch's unhappy death he was taken into favour by Henry IV., who appointed him Deputy-Lieutenant of Ireland under the young Prince Thomas of Lancaster. He "defeated the Irish on several occasions,

and died Feb. 10, 1406, at Tristel-Dermot, where the Irish parliaments were sometimes held" (French, p. 43). His eldest son Henry is the Lord Scroop of Henry V.

22. SIR PIERS OF EXTON. *Of Sir Piers of Exton* little seems to be known. Holinshed speaks of him as "one called Sir Piers of Exton" (vol. iii. p. 14). In the description of the death of Richard, part of which we have quoted in note 326, he thus relates Sir Piers's share in that tragedy: "After Richard had slain four of his assailants, 'Sir Piers being halfe dismayed herewith, leapt into the chaire where king Richard was wont to sit, while the other foure persons fought with him, and chased him about the chamber. And in conclusion, as king Richard trauesered his ground, from one side of the chamber to an other, coming by the chaire, where sir Piers stood, he was felled with a stroke of a pollax which sir Piers gaue him upon the head, and therewith rid him out of life, without giuing him respite once to call to God for mercie of his passed offenses. It is said, that Sir Piers of Exton, after he had thus slaine him, wept right bitterlie, as one stricken with the pricke of a gillie conscience, for murdering him, whome he had so long time obeyed as king."

He was probably a near relation of Sir Nicholas Exton, Sheriff of London in 1385, who opposed Richard II. in Parliament, and succeeded Sir Nicholas Brembre as mayor in 1386 (see French, p. 45).

23. QUEEN. This was Richard's second wife (see above, note 1). French says (p. 46): "Isabel of Valois was the eldest daughter of Charles VI., and was crowned Queen of England, January 7, 1397. After the death of Richard, Henry IV. endeavoured to obtain her hand for his son, the Prince of Wales, but her family declined the alliance, and she became in 1408 the wife of her cousin, Charles D'Angoulême, afterwards Duke of Orleans; she died Sept. 13, 1410, soon after giving birth to a daughter, Joan, who married John II., Duke of Alençon, son of the prince who was slain at Agincourt, after his encounter with Henry V."

24. DUCHESS OF YORK. The Duchess of York was not the mother of Aumerle, but the second wife of Edmund Langley, Duke of York (see above, note 3). She was Joan Holland, third daughter of Thomas, second Earl of Kent, and granddaughter of Joan, the Fair Maid of Kent. French (p. 47) says: "This duchess, surviving her husband, by whom she had no issue, married secondly the 'Lord Willoughby' in this play," [being] "his second wife; thirdly Henry, the 'Lord Scroop' in King Henry V.; and fourthly Sir Henry Bromfielde, Lord de Vescy, whose daughter, Margaret Bromfielde, married the 'Young Clifford' in the Third Part of King Henry VI."

25. DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER. She was the widow of Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III., of whom there has been so frequent mention. She was the Eleanor de Bohun who was the daughter and co-heiress of Humphrey, Earl of Hereford. She had one son and three daughters. The son died unmarried in 1399. The eldest daughter, Anne Plantagenet, married Edmund Stafford, fifth Earl of Stafford, who was slain at Shrewsbury; and their son Humphrey Stafford was created Duke of Buckingham, and is one of the

characters in the Second Part of Henry VI. Shakespeare supposes her to have died at Placy. She really died at Barking, whither she had retired after the death of her husband, and was buried at Westminster Abbey, where a monumental brass tablet to her memory may still be seen.

26. LADY attending on the Queen. French (p. 48) says: "The chief lady attached to the young queen's household was the 'Lady of Coucy,' Mary, daughter of the Princess Isabel, daughter of Edward III., who married Ingelram de Coucy, created Earl of Bedford, &c. After the Lady of Coucy was dismissed in disgrace, King Richard placed his young wife in the care of his niece, Eleanor Holland, widow of Roger Mortimer, fourth Earl of March, and she accompanied Queen Isabel on her return to France."

ACT I. SCENE 1.

27. Line 1: *time-honour'd*.—Not slid in F. 1. The line presents no difficulty in scansion if the final *ed* be pronounced; but, as it is a well-known and often quoted line, it is better to print it as usually given. As Malone has pointed out in his note, men were called *old*, at this time, whom we should consider only middle-aged. John of Gaunt was only fifty-eight years old at the time this play commences (1398).

28. Line 2: *according to thy oath and band*.—The word bond was spelt indifferently *bond* or *band*; for instances of the latter in Shakespeare, compare Comedy of Errors, iv. 2. 40, where the spelling of the word is used for the sake of a pun; and I. Henry IV. iii. 2. 157, "the end of life cancels all *bands*."

29. Line 3: *Henry Hereford thy bold son*.—*Hereford* is written *Herford* in all Qq. and Ff. (except Q. 5 and F. 4), so that it was evidently pronounced as a dissyllable. Daniel, in his poem *The Civil War*, uses the same form of the word (book i. stanzas lix. lx. &c.).

30. Line 4: *the boist'rous late appeal*.—i.e. the accusation brought by Bolingbroke against the Duke of Norfolk, in the parliament at Shrewsbury, on January 30, 1398.

31. Lines 9-11:

*If he APPEAL, the duke on ancient malice;
Or worthily, as a good subject should,
On some known ground of treachery in him?*

An Appeal of Battle was, according to Favine (quoted by Staunton), an accusation wherein "it is the purpose of one party to call another by the name of a villain before the bench of justice." The "appealer or appellant" had under the old French law of *Appeals*, to give security for the payment of a fine of three score pounds, and damages to each person whom he *appealed* to the same amount, in the event of his failing to prove his accusation. The person *appealed* might either disprove the accusation by evidence, or might support his own denial by single combat, either with the *appellant* or with some deputy.

32. Line 20: *MAY many years of happy days befall*.—Qq. Ff. omit *May*: the emendation is Pope's.

33. Line 23: *Until the heavens, ENVYING earth's good hap*.—The Edd. of Clarendon Press Series, and Rolfe say that,

in this line, the accent must be on the second syllable of *envying*; but surely the rhythm does not require this; the usual accent on the first syllable makes a more harmonious line.

34. Lines 41-46.—Coleridge says [Lectures upon Shakespeare, &c. (edn. 1849), vol. i. pp. 170, 171], "the rhymes in the last six lines well express the preconcertedness of Bolingbroke's scheme, so beautifully contrasted with the vehemence and sincere irritation of Mowbray." Surely this is very far-fetched. The rhymed lines are, as we know, characteristic of Shakespeare's earlier style; certainly these six are among those which make us suspect that Shakespeare worked, partly, from an older and inferior play. It may be well to note that, in the historical account, Bolingbroke's conduct in accusing the Duke of Norfolk was far from creditable to him. The conversation took place between them when riding together on the road from Brentford to London; and, according to Bolingbroke's own account, the purport of it was that the duke did not trust the king's assurances of friendship towards either of them; but believed that he intended to "destroy them both" for their share in some of the previous events of Richard's reign. "Two days before the opening of the session (at Shrewsbury) the Duke of Hereford had obtained a general pardon under the great seal for the treasons, misprisions, and offences that he had ever committed" (Lingard, vol. iii. p. 374). His conduct certainly showed caution, coupled with the grossest treachery towards his friend, who had been speaking to him in confidence.

35. Lines 58, 59:

Setting aside his high blood's royalty,—

And let him be no kinsman to my liege, —

We have printed the latter line as if it were a parenthesis. None of the commentators seem to find any difficulty in it; but it certainly is not very intelligible as usually printed. Norfolk is turning towards Bolingbroke in speaking the words: "*Setting aside*," &c.; then he stops, and turns with a reverent salutation to Richard:

And let him be no kinsman to my liege,

i.e. and consider him, for the moment, as no kinsman of yours, my liege." That this is the meaning is proved by King Richard's speech below (lines 115-128). No doubt the Duke of Norfolk felt a difficulty in accusing a cousin of the king's, so roundly, of treason.

36. Line 95: *for these EIGHTEEN years*.—That is since 1381, the year in which the rising under Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, &c. took place. It was also the year when Parliament made serious attempts to restrain the royal prerogative.

37. Line 100: *That he did plot the Duke of Gloster's death*.—Thomas of Woodstock, Earl of Buckingham, the youngest son of Edward III., was created Duke of Gloucester in 1385. The manner of his death is uncertain. In the Egerton MS. play, Thomas of Woodstock is the hero; he is called "plain Thomas," and is represented as remarkable for his plainness of speech; he is taken prisoner by a stratagem, at his own house, and carried off to Calais by Lapoole, the governor of that place. Acting on instructions from Richard, Lapoole has Gloucester

killed in prison by two murderers, who knock him on the head, then strangle him, and finally smother him with a feather-bed; afterwards arranging his body so as to make it appear he died a natural death. Richard, meanwhile overwhelmed with grief at the death of his queen (Anne of Bohemia), is struck with remorse, and wishes to recall the orders given to Lapoole, but it is too late. Lingard takes an unfavourable view of Gloucester's character, and doubts if the evidence of his murder, and especially of Richard's complicity in it, is to be relied on. It is certain that Norfolk, then Earl of Nottingham and Earl Marshal, was at Calais, and that Gloucester was in his charge: but whether the confession of John Hall, made in the first year of the reign of Henry IV., which is the only direct evidence of a murder having been committed, is to be relied on, is very doubtful.

38. Line 106: *To ME for justice*.—Bolingbroke here sets himself up as the avenger of his uncle Gloucester; he seems to have been one of the few members of the royal family who did not take any part in the proceedings against the duke. His father, the Duke of Lancaster, pronounced against Gloucester the judgment of treason. But Henry had another right to act as revenger of his uncle's death, for his wife was sister of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester (see above, note 8).

39. Line 131: *Since last I went to France to fetch his queen*.—He had been joined (in 1395) with the Earl of Rutland (Aumerle) in an embassy to demand the hand of Isabel, eldest daughter of Charles VI., then about eight years old. The marriage took place in November, 1396.

40. Line 157: *Our doctors say this is no MONTH to bleed*.

—*Ff. Q. 5* read time; but the allusion is to the almanacs, where particular seasons were pointed out as the most proper time for being bled; generally spring and autumn. As a fact, the events narrated in this scene took place in the month of April.

41. Line 168: *That lives, despite of death, upon my grave*.

—Printed by *Qq.* and *Ff.*:

Despite of death that lives upon my grave.

The transposition of the words is a very slight alteration which makes the sense much clearer; it was first suggested by Seymour (Remarks, vol. i. p. 249). Bishop Wordsworth seems to think he was the first to venture on it. (See Shakespeare's Historical Plays, vol. ii. p. 95.)

42. Line 170: *I am disgrac'd, impeach'd, and*

here.—According to Tollet (see Var. Ed. vol. xv. p. 16), Holinshed thus explains *bafling*: "*Bafling* is a great disgrace among the Scots, and it is used when a man is openly perjured, and then make of him an image painted, reversed, with his heels upward, with his name wondering, crying, and blowing out of him with horns." Compare I. Henry IV. i. 2. 118: "an I do not, call me a villain and *baffle* me."

43. Lines 176-181.—With these lines compare Iago's well-known speech, Othello, iii. 3. 155-161:

Good name in man and woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls: &c.

44. Line 186: *Cousin, throw DOWN your gage*.—So *Ff.* and *Q. 5*. The other Quartos all read *throw UP*; a reading

retained by the Edd. of Clarendon Press Series (p. 89) on the ground that "throw up" means "relinquish" and "is more appropriate than the latter, which is specially used for the act of defiance." But surely as above (line 161) Gaunt says:

Throw down, my son, the Duke of Norfolk's gage.

And King Richard adds (line 162)

And, Norfolk, throw down his.

And again (line 164), "Norfolk, throw down," the meaning is "throw down the gage you have in your hand." Lettson would substitute *his* for *your*, but that is unnecessary.

45. Line 187: *from such FOUL sin*.—Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4 read *deepe*: Ff. and Q. 5, substantially, *foul*; which seems the preferable epithet.

46. Line 189: *Or with pale BEGGAR-FEAR IMPEACH MY HEIGHT*.—So Q. 1, Q. 5, F. 1, F. 2; *beggar-fear* meaning "fear that makes me a beggar or suppliant, for his (Norfolk's) forgiveness." Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4 read *begger-face*: F. 3, F. 4 *beggar'd fear*.

Impeach my height means "lessen my dignity:" *impeach* is derived from the French *empêcher*, and means, originally, "to hinder," then "to accuse," because, perhaps, the object of an accusation is "to hinder" the accused from committing more crimes. The two senses of the word are here more or less blended.

47. Line 190: *upon ST. LAMBERT'S DAY*—i.e. September 17th.

48. Line 204: *MARSHAL, command our officers at arms*.—The Duke of Norfolk was Earl Marshal; but, as he was himself to answer Bolingbroke's appeal, a deputy (Thomas Holland, Earl of Surrey) was appointed to act in his place.

ACT I. SCENE 2.

49. Line 1: *Alas, the part I had in Woodstock's blood*.—In the Egerton MS. play the Duke of Gloucester is always called *Woodstock*. But for the context, this line might have a double meaning; for Lancaster was certainly privy to the proceedings against his brother. In the Egerton MS. play, Lancaster assures the Duchess of his determination to avenge his brother in the following passage:

We will revenge our noble brother's wrongs,
And force that wanton tyrant to reveal
The death of his dear uncle, harmless Woodstock.
So traitorously betray'd.

—Halliwell's Reprint, p. 81.1

50. Line 7: *Who, when they see*.—Altered by Pope to *it sees*, and by Steevens to *he sees*, very unnecessarily: heaven is often used as a plural noun. Compare Hamlet, iii. 4. 173-175:

but heaven hath pleas'd it so
To punish me with this, and this with me,
That I must be their scourge and minister.

51. Line 11: *Edward's seven sons*.—They were (1) Edward the Black Prince, born 1330, died 1376; (2) William of

Hatfield, 1336-1344; (3) Lionel of Antwerp, Duke of Clarence, 1338-1368; (4) John of Gaunt, 1340-1399; (5) Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, 1341-1402; (6) William of Windsor (died young); (7) Thomas of Woodstock, 1355-1397.

52. Line 35: *to SAFEGUARD thine own life*.—This verb is used once again by Shakespeare, in Henry V. i. 2. 176:

Since we have locks to *safeguard* necessities.

53. Line 53: *A CATIFF RECREANT*.—*Catiff* is, without doubt, derived from the Latin *captivus*; it is used by Wicliff in his version of the Bible (Eph. iv. 8) "He ledde catifte *caytif*." The French form of the word is *chétif*, in Italian *cattivo*; both originally meaning "captive," and then coming to mean "wretched," "bad;" just as *cattiff* has come to signify "a mean wretch." *Recreant* is used by Chaucer in the special sense of one who flies from battle: "he that despereth him, is like to the coward champion *recreant*, that fleth withouten nede" (The Persones Tale, vol. iv. p. 79). It also means one that yields himself to his adversary, which sense it bears here.

54. Lines 58, 59.—This simile is, undoubtedly, taken from the bounding of a tennis-ball.

55. Line 66: *at PLASHY visit me*.—*Plashy* (now spelt *Pleshy*), between Chelmsford and Dunmow, in Essex, was the seat of Thomas of Woodstock, in virtue of his office as Lord High Constable. It was here that Richard himself arrested his uncle in July, 1397. In the Egerton MS. play, *Plashy* is thus described:

this house of *plashy*, brother,
Stands in a sweete and pleasant ayre, ifailth;
Tis neere the Theames, and circled round with trees
That, in the summer, serue for pleasant fanns
To coole ye; and, in winter, strongly breake
The stormye windes that else would nipp ye too.

Halliwell's Reprint, p. 43.

Plashy is certainly some distance from the Thames

56. Lines 68, 69:

*But empty lodgings and UNFURNISH'd walls,
Unpeopled OFFICES.*

The tapestry was hung on the walls by hooks, so that it was easily taken down when the family were away. The word *offices* had the same peculiar sense, in Shakespeare's time, that it has now; namely, the pantry, kitchen, cellars, &c., and they were always on the ground-floor. Compare Timon of Athens, ii. 2. 167, 168:

When all our offices have been oppress'd
With riotous feeders.

57. Line 70: *And what hear THERE*.—So all Qq. and Ff. except Q. 1, which reads *cheere*; a reading defended by Malone, with singular infelicity, as justified by the *offices* in the preceding line. But surely, as the Camb. Edd. point out, the antithesis between line 67:

Alack, and what shall good old York *there see*,

and this line, "and what *hear there*," is too marked to admit of a doubt that Q. 1 is wrong in this instance.

58. Line 73: *Desolate, DESOLATE*.—Collier's MS. Corrector substituted *desperate* for the second *desolate*, which does not remedy the unrhythmical nature of the line. I

I have altered the punctuation in all quotations from the Reprint (which follows the MS. *literatim* and *verbatimim*); there being scarcely any stops, and what few there are, for the most part wrongly employed.

would propose *Desolate*, *ah! desolate*; but perhaps the rugged and deficient metre was here intentional.

ACT I. SCENE 3.

59. Line 3: *SPRIGHTFULLY and bold*.—For a similar omission of the adverbial termination, compare Richard III. iii. 4. 50:

His grace looks *cheerfully and smooth to-day*;

and Othello, iii. 4. 79:

Why do you speak so *startingly and rash*!

60. Line 5: *Marshal, demand of yonder champion*.—Shakespeare seems to have given us most of the ceremonial observed on such occasions as this. Holinshed's description of the scene is very vivid, and shows that all the accessories were of the most splendid character. Indeed, knowing the passion of Richard II. for dress and showy display of all kinds, one is tempted to think that, though he had made up his mind not to let the appellant and accused really fight, he would not stop the ceremony lest he should miss such an opportunity of indulging his favourite taste. Holinshed tells us the king "entered into the field with great triumph," and that he had there "above ten thousand men in armour."

61. Line 20: *To God, my king, and MY succeeding issue*.—So Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4: Ff. Q. 5 read *his*. It is very difficult to decide whether the latter are right, or not. Certainly one might, at the first glance, expect "*his* (*i.e.* the king's) succeeding issue;" nor do I think the fact that Richard had no issue, at this time, has anything to do with the question; for he was a young man, and when his child-queen grew up, he might easily have had children. But let us ask what were the three things to which Norfolk had to prove his "loyalty and truth." To his God, his king, and the king's lawful successors? Surely not; but to his God, his king, and his own high birth. If *to* meant "before," or "to the satisfaction of," there would be no difficulty. It is quite good sense that a man, in Norfolk's position, should say "I will be loyal and true to my children, for I will not leave them a dishonoured name, which I should do if I did not defend myself against this accusation." It seems to me that the reading *my* is partly justified, if indirectly, by lines 39, 40 below; where Bolingbroke says:

That he's a traitor, foul and dangerous,
To God of heaven, King Richard, and to me.

He does not say "to King Richard and his successors." The emendation of Ff. is, undoubtedly, very plausible; and the *my* might easily have been caught by the printer from the line above.

62. Line 26: *demand of*.—Qq. and Ff. read *ask*; the reading in the text is Ritson's conjecture.

63. Line 28: *Thus PLATED in habiliments of war*.—*Plated* means clad in *plate* armour; compare Antony and Cleopatra, i. 1. 4, "like *plated* Mars." Chain armour was not used after the reign of Edward III. except in certain parts of the armour.

64. Line 30: *DEPOSE HIM in the justice of his cause*.—This is the only instance, in Shakespeare, of the use of *depose* in the active sense of "taking a deposition."

65. Lines 42, 43:

*On pain of death, no person be so bold,
Or daring-hardy, as to TOUCH THE LISTS.*

This prohibition shows that the *lists* were, probably, movable barriers which marked out the ground of the tournament. Strutt says (edn. 1834, p. 131): "It was a considerable time after the establishment of jousts and tournaments, before the combatants thought of making either *lists* or barriers; they contented themselves, says Menestrier, with being stationed at four angles of an open place, whence they run in parties one against another. There were cords stretched before the different companies, previous to the commencement of the tournaments, as we learn from the following passage in an old English romance, among the Harleian manuscripts: 'All these things donne thei were embattailed eche ageynste the othir, and the corde drawn before eche partie, and whan the tyme was, the cordes were cutt, and the trumpettes blew up for every man to do his devoir, duty.'

As these pastimes were accompanied with much danger, they invented in France the double *lists*, where the knights might run from one side to the other, without coming in contact, except with their lances; other nations followed the example of the French, and the usage of *lists* and barriers soon became universal."

66. Lines 63, 64.—Here we have two lines of blank verse coming, without any particular reason, in the middle of a passage written in rhyme. I cannot understand how any one, at all acquainted with the Elizabethan drama, can read this speech, and not believe that Shakespeare either had an old play on this subject before him, when he wrote Richard II., or that it was one of his very earliest works which he afterwards partly rewrote. The speech concludes (lines 70-77) with a passage entirely in blank verse, which is quite worthy of Shakespeare at his best, and infinitely superior to most of the rhymed passages which occur so constantly in this play.

67. Lines 67, 68:

*Lo, as at English feasts, so I regret
The DAINTIEST last, to make the end most sweet.*

The practice of ending dinners and suppers with what was called a *banquet*, that is, a dessert of sweets, seems to have been characteristic of English entertainments. The Clarendon Press Series Edd. quote very aptly from Bacon, "Let not this Parliament end like a Dutch feast, in salt meats; but like an English feast, in *sweet meats*" (Life and Letters, ed. Spedding, vol. iii. p. 215, note).

68. Line 73: *Add PROOF unto mine armour with thy prayers*.—*Proof* was used technically of armour, somewhat as we use it nowadays of spirits. "Armour of *proof*" was armour tested so as to resist a severe blow. Compare Hamlet, ii. 2. 512:

On Mars his armour *for*'d for *proof* eterne;

and Macbeth, i. 2. 54: "Bellona's bridegroom, lapp'd in *proof*."

69. Line 83: *Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valiant, live!*—Qq. and Ff. all read "*be valiant and live!*" The emendation we have printed is, I think, preferable to Capell's, "*the valiant live!*;" or to Pope's "*be brave and*"

live." The *and* is quite unnecessary; it makes the line hopelessly unrhymical.

70. Line 84: *Mine innocence and Saint George to thrive!*—i.e. "May my innocence prevail by the aid of St. George!" Qq. and Ff. read *innocence*: Capell first suggested *innocency*, which makes the line perfect; perhaps *innocence* was sometimes pronounced as a quadrisyllable. The idiom "*St. George to thrive!*" has been compared with the phrase: "*St. George to borrow!*" but the latter is quite different; *borrow*, in that case, is a substantive = "pledge," "security;" and the meaning of the expression is "*St. George be my security!*" The phrase occurs in Ralph Rolster Dolster (Dodsley, vol. iii. pp. 141, 147); a note to the first passage by Cooper wrongly explains "to borrow" as = "to protect or guard;" quoting, as a parallel idiom, the line in our text.

71. Line 95: *As gentle and as jocund as TO JEST.*—*To jest* had, in Shakespeare's time, among other meanings, "to take part in any merry-making," and, especially, "to play in a masque." Farmer quotes from *The Spanish Tragedie* (act i.):

He promis'd us, in honour of our guest,
To grace our banquet with some pompous jest.

—Dodsley, vol. v. p. 33.

Schmidt explains *as to jest* = "as if I were going to a mock-fight."

72. Line 118: *the king hath THROWN HIS WARDER DOWN.*—In II. Henry IV. iv. 1. 125, 126:

O, when the king did throw his warder down,
His own life hung upon the staff he threw.

See Daniel's Civil War (book i. st. lxii.):

The Combat granted, and the Day assign'd,
They both in Order of the Field appear,
Most richly furnish'd in all Martial Kind,
And at the point of Intercombat were;
When lo! the King chang'd suddenly his Mind,
Casts down his Warder, to arrest them there;
As b'ing advis'd a better Way to take,
Which might for his more certain Safety make.

Daniel says that Richard stopped the combat because he feared Bolingbroke, if victorious, would gain so much popularity as to become a dangerous rival (book i. stanza lxiii.).

73. Line 121: *Withdraw with us.*—Here Richard and the Lords of the Council withdrew to consult together as to the sentence on the two combatants. According to Holinshed the consultation lasted two hours, and the sentence was read by Sir John Bushy, the king's secretary. It may be stated that historians are not agreed as to the real cause of the quarrel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk; but Daniel (Civil War, book i. stanzas lix.–lxi.) gives the explanation which is the most probable one; namely, that Bolingbroke had spoken freely to Norfolk his feelings about the oppression and misgovernment of Richard, that Norfolk had reported this to the king, and that in self-defence Bolingbroke then "appealed" Norfolk of treason. For the other account of the transaction see note 9. If Daniel's account is the true one, Bolingbroke's conduct appears in a much more favourable light.

74. Line 128: *Of CIVIL wounds.*—Q 1 has *cruell*; all the other old copies read *civil* (or *civill*). Malone, in a note

on this passage (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. pp. 80, 81), supports the reading of Q 1; but mentions that a copy of the Quarto, 1597 (Q 1), "now before me" reads *civil*. The only other copy, besides Capell's, known to exist was that in the possession of the late George Daniel, which, as he informed the Camb. Ed., reads *cruell*.

75. Lines 129–133.—These five lines are omitted in Ff. and Q 5.

76. Line 140: *upon pain of LIFE.*—So Q 1, Q 2, Q 3, Q 4: "*pain of death*," Ff. Q 5; the meaning is the same. Below (line 153) Qq. and Ff. all read "*upon pain of life*." Holinshed has, in both cases, "*pain of death*."

77. Line 150: *The fly-slow hours.*—So F 2: all the Qq. F 1, F 3, F 4 read *slow* (substantially) without a hyphen. It is with some reluctance that we adopt a reading which has only F 2 for its authority against all the Qq.; but the mistake between *f* and *s* is so common, and so easily made, that the alteration is really a very slight one. *Fly-slow* seems to be here a more appropriate expression, and a more forcible one than *slow*. Stevens quotes from Chapman's *Odyssey*, II. 164:

But when the fourth year came, and those *slow* hours
That still surprise at length dames' craftiest powers.

But, surely, there the epithet has an appropriate significance which it lacks here. Malone compares the expression *thievish minutes* in All's Well, II. 1. 168, 169:

Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
Hath told the *thievish minutes* how they pass.

But Helena is, evidently, speaking of an *hour-glass* there, and *thievish* is an epithet which suits exactly the movement of the sand in an hour-glass.

78. Line 151: *thy DEAR exile.*—A similarly transposed sense of *dear* is not uncommon in Shakespeare. (See note 223, *Love's Labour's Lost*.) The way in which the word comes to have two contrary meanings is very simple; at first it means "precious;" "*a dear thing*" = "that for which a high price has been paid;" then it comes to mean "held in great affection," "close to the heart;" and so to be used of anything that stirs the emotions, or touches the heart, whether pleasantly or painfully. *

79. Line 159: *these FORTY years.*—This is a mistake; Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, was not much more than thirty years old at this time.

80. Line 179: *Lay on our royal SWORD your banish'd hands.*—The hilt of the sword, in these times, was made, whether purposely or not, in the shape of a cross; and to swear with one's hand upon such a sword was equivalent to swearing by the cross. Compare *Hamlet*, I. 5. 154: "*swear by my sword*."

81. Line 181: *OUR PART THEREIN we banish with yourselves.*—Richard here releases them from their allegiance while in exile. It was a point much disputed, among lawyers, whether a banished subject was released from his allegiance by the very fact of being banished. Shakespeare is here his own lawyer.

82. Line 193: *Norfolk, so far as to mine enemy.*—Q 1, Q 2, Q 3, Q 4, F 1 read *fare*: F 2, Q 5, F 3 *farre*. The sentence is rather obscure; but Ritson's explanation,

quoted by Dyce, is probably the right one: "Norfolk—[Do not think that I am speaking to you as a friend]—so far as a man may speak to his enemy."

83. Lines 204, 205:

*But what thou art, God, thou, and I do know;
And all too soon, I fear, the king shall rue.*

The last line is explained, generally, by commentators "the king will rue his knowledge." But does not it mean "the king will rue what thou art?" Norfolk means to say, "God, thou, and I know what thou art—a traitor—and the king will soon have cause to rue the existence of such a traitor."

84. Lines 209-211:

*thy sad aspect
Hath from the number of his banish'd years
Pluck'd four away.*

It was not the silent pleading of the father's grief, but the popular indignation at the sentence on Bolingbroke which made Richard shorten his time of exile. Daniel says (Civil War, book i. st. lxxv):

But yet such Murm'ring of the Fact he hears,
That he is fain *Four of the Ten* forgive,
And judg'd him *Six Years* in Exile to live.

85. Line 222: *Shall be EXTINCT with age and endless night.*—Shakespeare uses *extinct* only here, and in Hamlet, i. 3. 117, 118:

*these blazes, daughter,
Giving more light than heat, extinct in both.*

It is used in its proper sense—"extinguished" in both places.

86. Line 231: *Thy word is CURRENT with him for my death.*—The metaphor here is taken from the coinage, and the meaning is "Thy word is current with time—i.e. is accepted as an authentic equivalent—for my death; i.e. the sentence of my death."

87. Line 244: *I was too strict to make mine own away*—i.e. "I was too strict in the performance of my duty in consenting to the banishment of my son." (See line 234.) There is no historical authority, I believe, for making Lancaster assent to the sentence of exile on his son.

88. Line 266: *Esteem as FOIL.*—Referring to the gold or silver leaf set behind a precious stone to enhance its lustre. Compare I. Henry IV. i. 2. 236-239:

*And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly, and attract more eyes
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.*

89. Lines 263-293.—These twenty-six lines are omitted in Ff. Q. 5.

90. Line 272: *To foreign passages*—i.e. to travelling about in foreign countries. Bolingbroke compares himself to an apprentice serving his time till he becomes free of his craft. He would serve his time, in the profession of an exile; and then be free to nothing else but to his own grief.

91. Line 275: *All places that the EYE OF HEAVEN visits.*—The *eye of heaven* is generally supposed to mean the sun; and Shakespeare, undoubtedly, uses the expression, in that sense, in Lucrece (line 356), "the eye of heaven is

out;" but it may mean here merely the eye of the omnipresent God.

92. Lines 275-293.—The whole of this passage seems to have been suggested by one in Lilly's Euphues (quoted by Malone, Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 41): "Plato would never accompt him banished, that had the sunne, fire, ayre, water, and earth, that he had before; where he felt the winter's blast, and the summer's blaze; where the same sunne and the same moone shined; whereby he noted that every place was a country to a wise man, and all parts a palace to a quiet mind.—When it was cast in Diogenes' teeth, that the Sinoponetes had banished him Pontus, yea, said he, I them of Diogenes."

93. Line 289: *the presence STREW'D.*—The practice of strewing the floors of chambers, even in palaces, with rushes, continued as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Shakespeare has several allusions to this custom, e.g. in Romeo and Juliet, i. 4. 36:

Tickle the senseless rushes with their heels.

Compare, on this subject, note 103, Two Gent. of Verona.

94. Line 299: *fantastic summer's heat.*—This expression is very like one in Euphues (also quoted by Malone): "he that is washed in the rayne, drieth himself by the fire, not by his fance" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 42). Both this passage, and that quoted above in note 92, occur in the chapter where Euphues exhorts Botonio to take his exile patiently.

95. Line 302: *Fell sorrow's TOOTH doth never RANKLE more.*—Compare Richard III. i. 3. 291:

His venom tooth will rankle to the death.

The word *rankle* occurs in no other passage in Shakespeare.

ACT I. SCENE 4.

96. Line 1: *We did observe.*—This is addressed to Bagot and Green; and refers to some conversation which had passed between them and the king about Bolingbroke's popularity and the arts he used to maintain it. (See below, lines 23-38.) Johnson observes, very sensibly, that the second act should commence with this scene; on the stage, it is generally omitted in its entirety.

97. Line 7: *Which then BLEW bitterly against our FACES.*—Ff. read *grew*, and Q. 3, Q. 4, Ff. Q. 5 read *face*. In this case the first Quartos are, as they generally are in this play, the safest authority to follow.

98. Line 13: *THAT taught me craft.*—We have accented *that* here, because, to make sense, the emphasis must be laid on it in reading or speaking the line. *That* refers to the words above, "for (i.e. because) my heart disdained," &c. Aumerle seems to have been a born traitor: he conspired against Bolingbroke afterwards; but, on being detected, he betrayed all his accomplices.

99. Lines 23-41.—Daniel in his Civil War (book i. stanzas lvi. - lxi.) gives a vivid description of Bolingbroke's popularity, and puts into words the feelings of the people at his departure. Here are some extracts:

At whose Departure hence out of the Land,
How did the open Multitude reveal

The wondrous Love they bare him under-hand!
Which now in this hot Passion of their Zeal
They plainly shew'd, that all might understand
How dear he was unto the Common-Weal.
They fear'd not to exclaim against the King,
As one that sought all Good Men's Ruining.

(Book i. st. lxvi. p. 26.)

Unto the Shore, with Tears, with Sighs, with Moan,
They him conduct; cursing the Bounds that stay
Their willing Feet, that would have further gone,
Had not the fearful Ocean stopt their Way

(Book i. st. lxvii. p. 27.)

100. Line 33: *the tribute of his SUPPLE KNEE*.—For the curtsy—called “making a leg”—as used by men, in Shakespeare's time, see *Taming of the Shrew*, note 182.

101. Lines 45–51.—The *farming* of the realm is described, with many details, in the Egerton MS. play, iv. 1. (Halliwell's Reprint, pp. 64, 65). According to the unknown author, the bargain was as follows: “these gentleman” (*sic*) heere, Sir Henry Greene, Sir Edward Baggott, Sir William Busahey, and Sir Thomas Scroope, all jointly heere stand bound to pay your maiestie or your deputie, whereuer you remayne (7000)li a monthe, for this your kingdome: for which your grace by these wrighthings, surrenders to ther hands all your Crowne lands, lordshippes, mannores, rents, taxes, subsites, fifteenes, impostes, forrayne customes, staples for woole, tyn, lead, and cloath; all forfitures of goods or lands confiscate; and all other duties that is, shall, or may appertayne to the king or crowne reuenues: and for non payment of the same or somes aforesayd, your maiestie to sease the lands and goods of the sayd gentlemen aboue named, and ther bodyes to be imprisoned at youre graces pleasures.” The division of the different districts of the realm, among the four farmers thereof, is described with no little humour and satire. The *blank charters* play an important part in the same play. The cruel oppression practised in the collection of them is represented as having been most odious. These *blank charters* were, virtually, promissory notes, which the wretched subjects of King Richard were compelled to sign before the amount was filled in; that being added afterwards at the caprice or discretion of the collectors.

102. Line 53: *At Ely House*.—*Ely House* stood just off Holborn, where Ely Place now is. The chapel of *Ely House* with the crypt underneath it, which have both been lately restored, may still be seen; Roman Catholic services now again take place there.

ACT II. SCENE 1.

103. Line 2: *to his UNSTAYD youth*.—Richard was now in his thirty-second year, and could hardly be said to be in his *youth*. Shakespeare uses *unstayd* in two other passages, Two Gent. of Verona, ii. 7. 60, and Twelfth Night, ii. 4. 18, in both of which the accent is on the last syllable. It is a coincidence worth noting that Holinshed also uses the word of Richard: “which to haue concealed had tended more to the opinion of vertue, than to lash out whatsoever his *unstayd* mind afforded” (vol. ii. p. 835).

104. Line 12: *music at the CLOSE*.—Steevens “supposes”

close to be a musical term. It certainly is; it is nearly synonymous with *cadence*, not to be confused with *cadence*, the anglicized form of *cadenza*, i.e. a succession of notes in *roulades* or *arpeggios* intended to show off the vocal execution of the singer, and means simply a return to the tonic chord or chord of the key-note. There is also the *half-close*, which very often divides a tune into two parts, being a fall or conclusion on the chord of the dominant—an “imperfect *cadence*.” In *Lingua* (act i. sc. 1), in a passage in which many musical terms occur, we find:

For though (perchance) thy first strains pleasing are,
I dare engage mine ear the close will jar.

—Dodsley, vol. ix. p. 338.

105. Line 16: *UNDEAF his ear*.—Shakespeare uses *deaf* as a verb in *King John*, ii. 1. 147, 148:

What cracker is this same that *deaf's* our ears
With this abundance of superfluous breath?

106. Lines 18, 19:

*As, praises of his state: THEN THERE are found
Lascivious metres.*

So Q. 3, Q. 4, F. 1, Q. 5; and, although it is not a satisfactory reading, we have thought it better to retain it than to print any emendation of our own or of any one else. Q. 1 reads:

of whose *taste* the wise are found,

Q. 2:

of whose *state* the wise are found,

neither of which can be right. The Camb. Edd. adopt Collier's emendation “of whose *taste* the wise are *fond*,” a very slight alteration which makes indifferent sense; but the passage is either corrupt or was left by Shakespeare unfinished. The whole speech is very carelessly written. The recurrence of *sounds* at end of line 17, and *sound* at end of line 19 is very suspicious; lines 22 and 23 both end with the syllable *ation* differently accented. For *metres* Qq. Ff. read *meeters*, which was the usual way of spelling that word even as late as 1770 (see Bailey's Dict.). *Metre* occurs in three other passages of Shakespeare; in *Sonnet* xvii. 12, where the Quarto has *miter*; in *I. Henry IV.* iii. 1. 130, where the first seven Quartos have *miter*, the Folios *meeter*, and Q. 8 *meter*; in *Measure for Measure*, i. 2. 22, where F. 1. has *meeter*. (Of that play there is no quarto edition.) That *meeter* here means “a person who *meets* or encounters you,” is scarcely tenable, unless some better authority for the word can be found than is afforded by this passage.

107. Lines 21–26: *Report of fashions in proud Italy, &c.*—Compare with this and the next lines the following passage from Cheney's speech (at end of act ii.) in Egerton MS. play (Reprint, p. 36):

They sitt in counsell to deuse strang fashions;
And suite themselues in wyld and anticke habitts,
Such as this kingdome neuer yett beheld;
Frenche hose, Italian cloakes, and Spanish hatts,
Polonian shoes, with pickes & a handfull longe
Tyde to ther knees with chaynes of pearle and gould;
Ther plumed topps fly waucing in the ayre
A cubitt hye aboue ther wanton heads.

Shakespeare, perhaps, intended to refer to other *fashions* than those of dress.

1 *Picks*, long pointed toes curling up at the end.

108. Line 28: *Where will doth mutiny with wit's regard.*—A difficult sentence; it means "where will does rebel against the view of the intellect," or "what the understanding sees to be right."

109. Line 44: *infection*.—Johnson would have read *invasion*, but supposes "Shakespeare means to say that islanders are secured by their situation both from war and pestilence." Singer suggests that the *infection* meant here may be moral, "of vicious manners and customs;" but is this sense consistent with lines 22, 23 above? It is certain that, although there were periodical outbursts in Shakespeare's time of an indigenous plague, our insular position has always kept us, in some degree, exempt from the worst forms of pestilence which have at times devastated the Continent. In Allot's *England's Parnassus* (1600), lines 40-55, with the exception of line 50, are quoted with some variations; and are wrongly attributed to M. Dr. (Michael Drayton). *Intestion* is the reading there, and Farmer suggested that *infection* = *infestation* might be the word intended by Shakespeare; a suggestion which Malone adopted in his text; instancing *acception* for *acceptation*, used by Bishop Hall, as a similarly abbreviated word. *Infestation* is used by Bacon; but no instance of *infection* can be found.

110. Line 60: *Like to a tenement, or PELTING farm.*—In the Egerton MS. play, Richard, in a speech in which he has a twinge of remorse, says (act iv.):

And we, his sonne, to ease our wanton youth,
Become a landlord to this warlike realme,
Rent out our kingdome like a *feltry* farme.

—Reprint, p. 63.

The similarity of expression is worth noticing.

111. Lines 61-63.—Compare with these lines the following passage in Daniel's *Civil War* (book i. stanzas lxvii. lxviii.):

Why, Neptune; Hast thou made us stand alone,
Divided from the World, for this, say they:
Hemm'd in to be a Spoil to Tyranny,
Leaving Affliction hence no way to fly?
Are we lock'd up, poor Souls, here to abide
Within the wat'ry Prison of thy Waves,
As in a Fold, where subject to the Pride
And lust of Rulers, we remain as Slaves.

There are so many points of resemblance between Daniel's poem and this play, that it seems highly probable either that Shakespeare had seen Daniel's poem in MS. or that Daniel had taken some ideas from the play. "The First Fowre Bookes of the civile wars between the houses of Lancaster and Yorke" was first published in 1595.

112. Line 64: *With inky blots.*—Stevens wanted to alter *blots* to *bolts*; but the words *inky blots* are, as Boswell pointed out, merely a contemptuous expression for writings.

113. Line 70: *For young hot colts, being RAG'D, do rage the more.*—Several conjectures have been made, such as *rein'd*, *chaf'd*, *owr'd*, &c., but they are unnecessary, as *rag'd*, i.e. "being aggravated by violent opposition," or "provoked by severe punishment," surely makes good sense enough.

114. Line 71.—Shakespeare has shown his dramatic common sense in not making the Queen Isabel, what she

really was at this time, a child of nine years old. There is little enough female interest in Richard II. now; there would have been none if he had adhered to history.

115. Lines 73-93.—These lines are omitted by Pope as unworthy of Shakespeare; but, however tedious may be this string of wretched puns which the dying Gaunt makes, such playing with words was considered witty in Shakespeare's time. The eloquent defence of this passage by Coleridge (*Lectures upon Shakespeare*, &c. vol. i. pp. 175, 176) is a very beautiful piece of writing, but not much to the point. Grim jests have often been made on their death-beds by men who, in their lifetime, were serious enough; but such a silly jingle of puns as Gaunt strings together on his own name is but one of those defects of taste common enough in all Shakespeare's works, but especially in his earlier ones; defects which only serve to bring out more prominently the many beauties of his language; beauties that shine more brightly by contrast with such blemishes.

116. Line 98: *Since thou dost seek to KILL MY NAME IN ME*—i.e. "to leave me without an inheritor of my name by banishing (and disinheriting) my son."—So this passage is generally explained, with the exception of the words put in brackets, which seem necessary; for the mere banishment would not prevent Bolingbroke's succeeding his father, especially as Richard had given both the banished dukes "a permission by patent to appoint attorneys to take possession of such inheritances as might fall to them in their absence, though they could not actually perform homage or swear fealty" (Lingard, vol. iii. p. 379). Hollinshed also mentions these patents which, immediately on John of Gaunt's death, Richard coolly ignored, and took possession of all his uncle's property. We must suppose that Gaunt on his death-bed anticipates the king's treachery, and divines that Richard's real object was to deprive his son and heir of all his property and titles.

117. Line 88: *flatter WITH those that live.*—Compare Two Gent. of Verona, iv. 4 193:

Unless I flatter WITH myself too much.

All Qq. (but Q. 1) and Ff. omit with.

118. Lines 93, 94:

*Now He that made me knows I see thee ill;
Ill in myself TO SEE, and in thee seeing ill.*

Stevens suggested the omission of the words to see in the second line, a suggestion which Seymour approved. They are certainly unnecessary, but are found in all Qq. and Ff., so we must consider the verse as an Alexandrine. The sense of the passage is: "God knows I see thee ill (in the double sense of seeing dimly, and of seeing Richard morally unwell) being myself ill to see (i.e. to look on) and seeing ill (ill-doing) in thee." Seymour explains: "Ill in myself to see," &c., "i.e. I am sick or ill to think I see at all, or am alive, under the burden of my age and vexations, and especially as I discover illness in you" (Remarks, vol. i. p. 258). But the simple explanation seems preferable.

119. Line 97: *too careless PATIENT.*—Seymour looks upon *patient* as an adjective, and compare Rom. and Jul. (il.

2. 141) "too flattering *sweet*;" but *patient* is here a substantive used in the ordinary sense. Compare Comedy of Errors, v. 1. 204:

You are not Pinch's *patient*, are you, sir?

120. Lines 102, 103:

And yet, incaged in so small a VERGE,
The WASTE is no whit lesser than thy land.

Shakespeare uses two legal terms here: *verge* means the compass of the king's court within the jurisdiction of the lord steward of the king's household, which extended for twelve miles round. *Waste* is the legal term for the destruction of any houses, woods, fences, &c., done by the tenant for life to the prejudice of the heir, or of the holder of the reversion. It refers here to the *waste* made by Richard's favourites.

121. Line 113: LANDLORD of England art thou now, not king.—This expression occurs more than once in the Egerton MS. play. See passage quoted in note 110. When Gloucester is in prison the ghost of Edward III. appears to him, and speaks thus of his grandson (act v.):

(7) warlicke sonnes I left, yett being gone,
No one succeeded in my kingly throne;
Richard of Burdex, my accused grandchild,
Cut of your titles to the kingly state;
And now your lues and all would ruiuate,
Murders his grandsiers sonns, his fathers brothers,
Becomes a *landlord* to my kingly tyties,
Rents out my crownes reuenues, &c.

—Reprint, p. 83.

Again Lancaster says to the king (act v.):

And thou no king, but *landlord* now become
To this great state that terrourd christendome.

—Reprint, p. 94.

122. Lines 133, 134:

And thy unkindness be like crooked age,
To crop at once a too long wither'd flower.

Johnson proposed a very ingenious reading in the first line:

And thy unkindness be TIME'S CROOKED EDGE,

i.e. *time's scythe*. But Malone has produced many instances of the use of the expression *crooked age*; one in Loocrine (l. 1. 15):

Now yield to death, o'erlaid with *crooked age*.

No doubt the word *crooked* suggested Time's *scythe* or *sickle*. Compare Sonnet c. lines 13, 14:

Give my love fame faster than Time wastes life;
So thou prevent'st his *scythe* and *crooked knife*.

123. Line 139: *that age and SULLENS have*.—This word *sullens*, used only here by Shakespeare, is found in Lilly's Sapho and Phaon (lll. 1): "like you Pandion, who being sicke of the *sullens*, will seeke no friend" (Works, vol. i. p. 184).

124. Line 145: *Right, you say true: as Hereford's love, so his*.—Richard wilfully mistakes York, and answers him as if he had spoken of Hereford's (Bolingbroke's) love for him (Richard), not of Gaunt's love for his son. Of course, in the preceding line, *Harry, Duke of Hereford*, is in the objective, not in the nominative case.

125. Line 148:

K. Rich. What says he?

North.

Nay, nothing; all is said.

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There is a syllable deficient in this line, but it is supplied by the pause between the two speeches. Malone is quite wrong in calling *What says he?* "one of those short additions in prose." Pope coolly printed, "What says old Gaunt!"

126. Line 153: *The ripest fruit first falls, and so doth he*.—Compare Merchant of Venice (iv. 1. 115, 116):

the weakest kind of fruit

Drops earliest to the ground; and so let me.

127. Line 156: *rug-headed kernes*.—Compare II. Henry VI. iii. 1. 367:

Full often, like a *shag-hair'd* crafty *Morn*.

"*Rug* was rough coarse frieze, and also a cloak or coverlet made of it" (Clarendon Press Ed.). These *rugs* were worn by the Irish, and their resemblance to the rough thick bushy hair of the *kerns*, or light-armed soldiers, suggested the epithet.

128. Lines 157, 158:

Which live like venom, where no venom else,
But only they have privilege to live.

Referring to the legend that St. Patrick drove all reptiles out of Ireland, which accounts for the absence of snakes in that favoured country.

129. Lines 167, 168:

Nor the prevention of poor Bolingbroke
About his marriage, nor my own disgrace.

When Bolingbroke went to France he was received by the king, Charles VI., in the most friendly manner; his first wife, Mary de Bohun, having died in 1394, he proposed for the hand of Marie, one of the daughters of the Duke of Berry, uncle to Charles VI., and was accepted. But Richard, on hearing of the engagement, sent the Earl of Salisbury, at once, on an express mission to Charles to tell him that Bolingbroke was a traitor, &c. &c. and that he must not suffer his cousin to marry him on any account; so the match was broken off.

130. Line 177:

Accomplish'd with the number of thy hours;

i.e. "when he had reached thy age."

131. Line 185: *he never would compare between*—i.e. "make comparisons between Richard and his father, the Black Prince: the use of "to compare between" is obsolete.

132. Lines 203, 204:

By his ATTORNEYS-GENERAL to sue
HIS LIVERTY.

An *attorney-general* is he that has a general authority to act in another person's affairs and suits for him. To *sue his livery* is a legal expression thus fully explained by Malone: "On the death of every person who held by knight's service, the escheator of the court in which he died summoned a jury, who inquired what estate he died seized of, and of what age his next heir was. If he was under age, he became a ward of the king's; but if he was found to be of full age, he then had a right to *sue out a writ of ouster le main*, that is, *his livery*, that the king's hand might be taken off, and the land *delivered to him*" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 61).

133. Line 228: *My HEART IS GREAT; but it must BREAK WITH SILENCE.*—Compare the well-known line in Hamlet's first soliloquy (i. 2. 159):

*But break, my heart; for I must hold my tongue.

134. Line 232: *Tends that thou 'dost speak to the Duke of Hereford!*—i.e. "Is that which thou wouldest speak concerning the Duke of Hereford?"—Our reading is that of Fl. Q. 5. The other Qq. read that *thou would'st*, which Dyce prefers, accentuating *would'st*.

135. Line 246: *The commons hath he pill'd with grievous taxes.*—In the Egerton MS. play (act i.) Woodstock, speaking of Richard's favourites, says:

did some heere weare that fashion (i.e. plain hose),
They would not tax and pill the commons soe.

—Reprint, p. 16.

136. Line 247: *And lost their hearts.*—Qq. and Fl. "*And quite lost their hearts.*" Pope omitted *quite*, which word spoils the verse, and was probably intended for the line below. It is very possible that the first *and quite lost their hearts* was put by the transcriber in place of some different words.

137. Line 250: *benevolences.*—According to Holinshed, the name *benevolence* was first given to a semi-voluntary contribution to the king's exchequer by Edward IV. in the year 1473: "But because he wanted monie, and could not well charge his commons with a new subsidie, for that he had receiued the last yeare great summes of monie granted to him by parlement, he deuised this shift, to call afore him a great number of the wealthiest sort of people in his realme; and to them declaring his need, and the requisite causes thereof, he demanded of euerie of them some portion of monie, which they stickled not to giue. And therefore the king willing to shew that this their liberalitie was verie acceptable to him, he called this grant of monie, a beneuolence: notwithstanding that manie with grudge gaue great sums toward that found aid which of them might be called, a Malenolence" (Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 330). So that the use of the word here is an anachronism; perhaps Shakespeare should have used *pleance*, which according to Holinshed was a name given to certain fines so called "as it were to please the king withal" [See Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 334 (marginal note)].

138. Lines 253, 254:

*But basely yielded upon compromise
That which his ancestors achiev'd with blows.*

The allusion is to the treaty made by Richard with Charles VI. of France in 1393, and renewed on his marriage with his child-queen Isabel in 1396; and more especially perhaps because he was accused of over-partiality for France in the yielding up of Brest to the Duke of Brittany for a sum of money in 1397. (See Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 334.) In the Egerton MS. play (act v.) Lancaster says of Richard:

His native country, why that is france, my lords,
At Burdex was he borne, which place allures
And tyes his deepe affections still to france.

—Reprint, p. 94.

139. Line 263: *But, lords, we hear this fearful tempest*

SING.—Compare Tempest, ii. 2. 20: "another storm brew-
"ing; I hear it sing ' the wind."

140. Line 268: *And UNAVOIDED is the danger now.*—Compare I. Henry VI. iv. 5. 8:

A terrible and unavoidable danger.

So *unvalued* for *invaluable*, Richard III. i. 4. 27:
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels.

141. Lines 275, 276:

*We three are but thyself; and, speaking so,
Thy words are but as thoughts.*

These lines are explained by a writer in Blackwood's Magazine for September, 1853 [p. 306 (quoted by Dyce)]: "We three are but yourself, and, in these circumstances, your words are but *as* thoughts—that is, you are as safe in uttering them as if you uttered them not, inasmuch as you will be merely speaking to yourself."

142. Lines 277, 278:

*I hure from PORT LE BLANC, a bay
In Brittany.*

According to Holinshed (vol. ii. p. 352) "there were certaine ships rigged, and made readie for him, at a place in base Britaine, called *Le port blanc*, as we find in the chronicles of Britaine." The Clarendon Press Ed. say that Holinshed copied from "Les grüdes croniques de Bretagne" (Paris, 1514). They add that *Le Port Blanc* is a small port in the department of Côtes du Nord near Trégulier. But Lingard says: "To elude the suspicions of the French ministers, Henry procured permission to visit the Duke of Bretagne; and, on his arrival at Nantes, hired three small vessels, with which he sailed from Vannes to seek his fortune in England" (vol. iii. p. 383). Vannes is on the bay of Morbihan, a well-known bay in Brittany; and I believe Holinshed, and the chroniclers from whom he copied, were equally mistaken; and that it should be *Morbihan*, and not *Port le Blanc*, which is an insignificant place not marked on any map. Trégulier and Vannes were both in Basse Bretagne (see Notes and Queries for April 5, 1884, No. 223, p. 267, where I have given my reasons for this belief at greater length).

143. Lines 279-284:

*Rainold Lord Cobham,
[The son of Richard, Earl of Arundel]
That late broke from the Duke of Exeter, &c.*

The line inserted between brackets, which Malone first introduced, is absolutely necessary to the sense. Rainold (Reginald) Lord Cobham certainly never broke from the Duke of Exeter; but Thomas Arundel, son of Richard Earl of Arundel (who was beheaded in 1397, at the same time that the Duke of Gloucester was arrested) did, as Holinshed narrates (vol. ii. p. 349): "About the same time, the earle of Arundel's sonne, named Thomas, which was kept in the duke of Exeters house, escaped out of the realme, by meanes of William Scot, mercer, and went to his vncle, Thomas Arundell late archbishop of Canturburie, as then sojourning at Cullen" (Cologne). Lord Cobham was condemned to exile in Jersey, in January, 1398, for complicity in Gloucester's supposed conspiracy; the Archbishop of Canterbury was deprived of his see on the same ground, and took refuge in France

144. Lines 283, 284:

*Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir THOMAS Rameton,
John Norbury, Robert Waterton, and Francis COINT.*

Qq. and Ff. read "*Sir John Rainsdon*;" but it was really *Sir Thomas* (see Holinshed, vol. ii. p. 852). Ff. and Qq. have:

Sir John Norbery, Sir Robert Waterton, and Francis Quoint,

but Holinshed gives them as "John Norbury, Robert Waterton, Francis Coint Esquires;" and we have followed Holinshed, as Shakespeare probably intended to do.

145. Line 296: *Raenenspurg*—otherwise *Ravenesburn*, or *Raverser*, near Spurn Head, was, in the time of Edward I., the most considerable port on the Humber. It ceased to exist in the sixteenth century, having been swept away by the encroachments of the German Ocean. It was situated near Kilnsea. It was here that Edward IV. landed in 1471, when he came to regain his kingdom after the temporary restoration of Henry VI. by Warwick.

ACT II. SCENE 2.

146. Line 1.—*Bushy, Bagot, and Green* all figure conspicuously in the Egerton MS. play; although, at the period of the events represented in that play, they do not appear to have been in any way prominent characters; nor are they mentioned in history, as favourites of Richard, before 1397. This scene is represented as taking place at Windsor, because Holinshed mentions that Richard left the Queen there when he went to Ireland: "leaving the queene with hir traine still at Windsor" (vol. ii. p. 850). Lingard thus describes their parting: "Having appointed his uncle, the Duke of York, regent during his absence, the king assisted at a solemn mass at Windsor, chanted a collect himself, and made his offering. At the door of the church he took wine and spices with his young queen; and lifting her up in his arms, repeatedly kissed her, saying, 'Adieu, madam, adieu, till we meet again'" (vol. iii. p. 381).

147. Line 3: *life-harming*.—So Q. 1, Q. 2; Q. 3, Q. 4 have *halfe-harming*, which in F. 1 was changed to *selfe-harming*.

148. Line 4: *And ENTERTAIN a cheerful DISPOSITION*.—Compare Merchant of Venice, i. 1. 90:

And use a wisful stillness ENTERTAIN.

Disposition is used in the same sense in Hamlet, i. b. 172: *To put an antic disposition on.*

149. Lines 11, 12:

and my INWARD SOUL

With NOTHING trembles: at some thing it grieves.

This passage appears to have troubled episcopal commentators: Bishop Warburton transposed *nothing* and *some thing*; while Bishop Wordsworth prints *noting* for *nothing*. I think both changes are unnecessary. The meaning is: "my *inward soul* is so agitated, it trembles or is frightened by *nothing*, i.e. no tangible or visible thing: its grief is for *something* more than the mere separation from the king:" what that *something* is she does not know.

150. Lines 18-20:

*Like perspectives, which rightly gaz'd upon
Show nothing but confusion,—ey'd awry
Distinguish form.*

Commentators differ as to what *perspectives* were. Staunton quotes from Dr. Plot's Natural History of Staffordshire (Fol. Oxford, 1686, p. 391): "At the right Honorable the Lord Sherards at Gerard's Bromley, there are the pictures of Henry the great of France and his queen, both upon the same *indented board*, which if beheld *directly*, you only perceive a confused piece of work; but if *obliquely*, of one side you see the king's and on the other the queen's picture, which I am told (and not unlikely), were made thus. The *board* being *indented* according to the magnitude of the *Pictures*, the *prints* or *paintings* were cut into *parallel pieces*, equal to the depth and number of the indentures on the board; which being nicely done, the *parallel pieces* of the king's picture, were pasted on the *flatts* that strike the eye beholding it *obliquely*, on one side of the board; and those of the queen's on the other; so that the edges of the parallel pieces of the prints or paintings exactly joyning on the edges of the indentures, the work was done." Singer quotes the following from Hobbes in his Answer to Davenant's Preface to Gondibert: "You have seen a curious kinde of *perspective*, where he that looks through a short hollow pipe upon a picture containing divers figures, sees none of those that are painted, but some one person made up of their parts, conveyed to the eye by the artificial cutting of a glass." Some seem to think it was a figure drawn in inverted *perspective*; others that it refers, not to any picture, but to convex glasses "cut into faces, like those of the rose-diamond; the concave left uniformly smooth" (Henley, Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 70). The fact is, the word *perspectives* was used in different senses: in a passage which occurs in All's Well (v. 3. 48, 49) it means a glass which produces an optical illusion:

Contempt his scornful *perspective* did lend me,
Which warp'd the line of every other favour.

Beaumont and Fletcher use it for a telescope in The Lover's Progress (iii. 6):

Lies hide our sins like nets; like *perspectives*,
They draw offences nearer still, and greater.

—Works, vol. ii. p. 649.

In this passage the sense is rightly explained by the quotation from Dr. Plot, given by Staunton.

151. Line 31: *As,—though, on thinking, on no thought I think*.—Capell altered on to *in*; but the sense, or nonsense, is the same. If Shakespeare did not avail himself of some older play, it must be confessed that he is at his worst in this and some other passages of Richard II. Such a detestable jingle of verbal affections, wantonly obscure and involved, is foreign to the purposes of true poetry. It was not so he wrote when he wanted to touch our hearts.

152. Line 34: *'Tis nothing less*.—The Clarendon Press Edd. quote, very appropriately, from Bacon's Advancement of Learning, ii. 1, § 3: "The use of this work, honoured with a precedent in Aristotle, is *nothing less* than to give contentment to the appetite of curious and vain wits." So *rien moins* is used in French.

153. Lines 36-38:

*For nothing hath begot my something grief;
Or something hath the nothing that I grieve:
'Tis in reversion that I do possess.*

One has scarcely the patience to try and explain this involved gibberish; and one feels tempted to believe Shakespeare was really burlesquing some of his contemporaries. The meaning, if any was intended, probably is: "My grief is begot of nothing; or else, groundless as it seems, it has some basis of reality; it is only in reversion that I possess this grief, as the event which I grieve for has not yet happened." The best manner, perhaps, in which to treat such passages as the above, is to pass them over as melancholy examples of the corrupting influence of *fashion* on a master mind. Silly courtiers wrote this kind of trash, and thought it "monstrous pretty." Nobody will dispute they were half in the right.

154. Line 54: *The Lords of Ross, Beaumont, and Willoughby*.—See Holinshed (vol. ii. p. 853): "The first that came to him, were the lords of Lincolneshire, and other countries adjoining, as the lords *Willoughbie, Ros, Darcie, and Beaumont*."

155. Line 57: *And all the rest revolted faction, traitors*.—This is the reading of Q. 1; the other Qq. and F. 1, F. 2 read "*rest of the revolted faction*," which makes an unnecessarily cumbrous line. Capell ended the line at *faction* (adopting the latter reading), and printed *Traitors* as the beginning of the next line. There are two considerations which make us prefer the reading of Q. 1 to that of the later copies, and to Capell's arrangement. In all the old copies, Quarto and Folio, *Worcester* is printed in full, and is evidently meant to be pronounced as a trisyllable; trisyllabic endings are scarcely admissible in so early a play. Secondly, Shakespeare uses *remainder*, as an adjective, precisely in the same elliptical manner as *rest* is used here. See As You Like It (ii. 7. 30, 40):

Which is as dry as the *remainder* biscuit
After a voyage.

156. Lines 58, 59:

*We have: whereon the Earl of Worcester
Hath broke his staff, resign'd his stewardship.*

Holinshed's account of this incident is as follows: "Sir Thomas Persie, earle of Worcester, lord steward of the kings house, either being so commanded by the king, or else vpon displeasure (as some write) for that the king had proclaimed his brother the earle of Northumberland traitor, brake his white staffe, which is the representing signe and token of his office, and without delay went to duke Henrie" (vol. ii. p. 855).

157. Lines 62, 63:

*So, Green, thou art the midwife to my woe,
And Bolingbroke my sorrow's dismal heir.*

This refers to lines 10, 11:

Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb,
Is coming towards me.

Compare with this passage and the three following lines:

I am great with woe, and shall deliver weeping.
—Pericles (v. 1. 107).

158. Line 74: *With signs of war about his aged neck*.—This means that he had got his armour on, including the gorget, which protected the neck and shoulders.

159. Line 88: *The nobles they are fed, the commons*
*COLD.—Qq. and Ff. read "the commons they are cold." The correction is Pope's.

160. Lines 92, 93.—We have arranged these lines as in Ff. and Q. 5, with the exception that we have transposed *to-day* and *came by*, in order to make the line scan. In the four Quartos they are arranged thus:

*Hold take my ring
Serv. My lord I had forgot to tell your lordship
To-day as I came by I called there;*

except that, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4 all omit *as* and insert *and* before *I called*. In F. 1 *called* is printed *call'd*.

161. Line 105: *Come, sister, — cousin, I would say, — pray, pardon me*.—This, as Steevens observes, is one of Shakespeare's touches of nature. York's mind is full of the death of his sister, and he calls the Queen *sister*, instead of *cousin*. Strictly speaking, Queen Isabella was his niece by marriage; but *cousin* is used of various degrees of relationship. The Duchess of Gloucester, according to Holinshed, died in this year, 1399; but he does not mention what month; the cause of her death being "thorough sorrow (as was thought) which she concealed for the losse of hir sonne and heiro the lord Humfrie, who being sent for fourth of Ireland (as before ye have heard) was taken with the pestilence, and died by the wale" (vol. iii. p. 9).

162. Lines 108-120.—We have printed this passage as prose; the attempt to turn it into verse only results in a number of unrhythmical lines, which, allowing for the agitation of York, still jar upon one's ear.

163. Line 119: *meet me presently at BERKLEY*.—Ff. and Q. 5 have *Barkley* and *Barkly* CASTLE. The first four Quartos omit *castle*. *Berkeley Castle* is on the south-east side of the town of Berkeley, on the Bristol Channel, about half-way between Gloucester and Bristol. It is in good preservation. Here Edward II. was murdered, September 21st, 1327.

164. Line 122: *six and seven*.—The older form of the phrase, in common use nowadays, is *sixes and sevens*. The derivation is uncertain; but, most probably, it was taken from some game. Nares says, "The plural form, which is now exclusively used, suggests the idea that it might be taken from the game of tables, or backgammon, in which to leave single men exposed to the throws of *six* and *seven*, is to leave them negligently, and under the greatest hazard; since there are more chances for throwing those numbers than any other."

165. Line 143: *presages*.—In King John this word is used in two passages (i. 1. 28):

And sullen *presages* of your own decay,

and (iii. 4. 158):

Abortives, *presages* and tongues of heaven,

in both of which the accent is on the first syllable.

ACT II. SCENE 3.

166. Line 5: *DRAWS out our miles, and MAKES them wearisome*.—Many editors substitute *draw* and *make*; but this use of a singular verb with a plural nominative

occurs so often in Shakespeare, that we are not justified, in altering his characteristic phraseology in order to bring it into accordance with our views of grammar. The poet writes as if the *wild hills* and *rough uneven ways* assumed, in the speaker's mind, the idea of unity, as one opposing force to the projects of himself and companions. The construction is well known in Greek.

167. Line 7: *delectable*.—For the accent on the first syllable in a similar word, compare the well-known line in King John (iii. 4. 29):

And I will kiss thy *delectable* bones.

168. Line 9: *Cotswold*.—Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4 print *Cotshall*; Ff. and Q. 5 have *Cotthold*. In Merry Wives (i. 1. 92) there is an allusion to the *Cotswolds* being a favourite place for coursing matches: "I heard say he (i.e. a greyhound) was outrun on *Cotshall*." F. 2, F. 3, F. 4 have *Cotale* in that passage: but the present spelling seems nearer the older. In A new Enterlude called Thersytes, printed in Black Letter by John Tysdale, about 1562, but acted as early as 1537, the word *Cotswold* occurs:

Now have at the Lyons on *Cotswold*!

—Dodsley, vol. i. p. 400.

It occurs again in Ralph Roister Doister, printed about 1566 (act iv. sc. 6):

Then will he look as fierce as a *Cotswold* lion.

—Dodsley, vol. iii. p. 137.

It is evident from this passage that *Cotshall* is a later corruption of the word.

169. Lines 11, 12:

*Which, I protest, hath very much beguild
The tediousness and PROCESS of my travel.*

The word *process*, the Clarendon Press Ed. say, "seems always to be used as connoting tediousness and weariness, an idea perhaps suggested by its legal signification." But this statement is hardly confirmed by reference to the passages in which the word occurs in this sense, e.g. in Queen Katherine's speech in Henry VIII (ii. 4. 34-39):

Sir, call to mind

That I have been your wife, in this obedience,
Upward of twenty years, and have been blest
With many children by you: if, in the course
And *process* of this time, you can report,
And prove it too, against mine honour aught &c.

170. Line 20: *Than your good words*.—But who comes here!—Seymour proposed to read:

Than your good words, my Lord—But who comes here!

There are so many lines in Shakespeare, even in passages which have evidently been carefully and not carelessly written, where the place of one or two syllables is supplied by a pause, similar to the rests which occur in music, that it would be idle to try and supply the deficient syllables in every instance. In this case, as in many others, the ear is not offended by the deficient scansion; the necessary pause, on the part of the speaker, is quite sufficient.

171. Lines 21, 22:

*It is my son, young Harry Percy,
Sent from my brother WORCESTER, whencesoever.*

1 This is the exact spelling of the old Black Letter copy (unique) in possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Hazlitt prints *Cotswold*.

These two lines almost seem as if they were meant for prose; if we suppose *Worcester* to be pronounced *Worster*, as *Gloucester* is pronounced *Gloster*, the second line will scan. But *Worcester* is always written in full in the old copies, while *Gloucester* is always written *Gloster*. The two words *Worcester*, *whencesoever*, occurring close together are cacophonous. We might venture to read:

It is my son, young Harry Percy, sent

From WORCESTER, MY BROTHER, whencesoever.

pronouncing *Worcester* as a trisyllable.

172. Lines 26-30.—See note 156.

173. Lines 37-39.—There is a tone of self-assertion and haughtiness in these three lines which foreshadows the Hotspur of Henry IV.

174. Line 55: *And in it are the Lords of York, Berkley, and Seymour*.—This line is cacophonous; and would read better thus:

And in it are the Lords York, Berkley, Seymour.

But perhaps, as in lines 57, 68, 69, the word of occurs, in each case, before the title of the Lords mentioned, it is better to leave it as it stands in all the old copies. Holinshed says: "With the duke of York were the bishops of Norwich, the lord *Berkelie*, the lord *Seymour*, and other" (vol. ii. p. 853). Lord *Seymour* was Richard de St. Maur, fifth baron of that surname, born 1355, died 1401.

175. Line 61: *Is yet but unfelt thanks*.—He means: "is yet but thanks not expressed substantially, but only in words."

176. Line 67.—See note 170. Various additions to this line have been made by different editors to complete the metre; but, for the reasons mentioned in the note referred to, we have not adopted them.

177. Lines 69, 70:

Berk. *My Lord of Hereford, my message is
To you—*

Boling. [Interrupting angrily] *My answer is—to Lancaster.*

In Qq. and Ff. the lines stand thus:

My Lord of Hereford, my message is to you.

Boling. My Lord, my answer is—to Lancaster.

For the arrangement of the text we are responsible; some editors omit *To you* in line 69; but it seems that the words *My Lord*, in line 70, might have easily been caught by the transcriber from the line above; and the dramatic force of the passage is increased by the omission of these words.

178. Line 85: *deceivable*.—Compare Twelfth Night (iv. 3. 20, 21):

There's something in't

That is *deceivable*.

179. Line 87: *Tut, tut! grace me no grace, nor uncle me*.—Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4 read "uncle me no uncle." Ff. Q. 5 omit no *uncle*, much to the benefit of the line. Compare Rom. and Jul. (iii. 5. 153):

Thank me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds.

180. Line 91: *a dust*.—Compare King John (iii. 4. 128): "Shall blow each *dust*, each *straw*," &c.; again (iv. 1. 98): "*a dust*, a gnat, a wandering hair."

181. Line 92: *But then, more "why?"*—So Q. 1. Q. 2, Q. 3 read "*But more than why?*" Q. 4: "*But more then why?*" F. 1, F. 2, Q. 5, F. 3: "*But more then why.*" There have been various emendations proposed; but the meaning of the text seems simple enough, though awkwardly expressed: York means to say, "But then there are more questions remain to be asked."

183. Line 95: *despised arms*—i.e. "despicable," or "to be despised," because employed in a bad cause; and also because they were an ostentatious display of force against a people unrealistic and almost defenceless. For similar uses of the past participle, in this play, compare line 100 of this scene, *detested for detestable*, and (ll. 1. 268) *unavoided for unavoidable*.

183. Lines 100-102.—The Clarendon Press Ed. say: "It does not appear that Shakespeare had any historical authority for this statement. No such incident is recorded of the battle of Navarrette, at which the Black Prince and John of Gaunt were present in 1367. John of Gaunt was not with the Prince at Poitiers in 1356, nor did the Prince accompany him in his expedition to France in 1372; and there is no mention of the Duke of York on any of these occasions." It may be added that "these be brave words" which York utters; but he does nothing to carry them into effect, except faithlessly abandoning the charge he had undertaken.

184. Line 123: *To rouse his wrongs and chase them TO THE BAY*.—These are terms of the chase used in hunting the stag. *To rouse* the deer is to put him up from cover; *to the bay* means till he stands at bay and turns on the hounds.

185. Lines 129, 130.—See note 132.

186. Line 166: *The caterpillars of the commonwealth*.—Compare the Egerton MS. play (act i.):

Woodstock. Shall cankers eat the fruit
That planting and good husbandry hath norisht?
Greene: Baggot: Cankors!
York: Arundell: I, cankours caterpillars.

—Reprint, p. 17.

ACT II. SCENE 4.

187. Line 4: *Therefore we will disperse ourselves*.—According to Holinshed, Salisbury succeeded in assembling 40,000 men at Conway. Of their subsequent dispersion, which may be said to have decided Richard's fate, Holinshed gives the following account: "But when they missed the king, there was a brute spread amongst them, that the king was suerlie dead, which wrought such an impression, and sulli disposition in the minds of the Welshmen and others, that for anie persuasion which the earle of Salisbury might vse, they would not go forth with him, till they saw the king: onelle they were contented to staie foureteene daies to see if he should come or not; but when he came not within that tearme, they would no longer abide, but scaled and departed awaie" (vol. ii. p. 854).

188. Line 8: *The BAY-TREES in our country are all WITHER'D*.—Holinshed mentions this circumstance: "In this yeare in a manner throughout all the realme of England, old baie trees withered, and afterwards, contrarie to all mens thinking, grew greene againe, a strange sight,

and supposed to import some unknowne euent" (vol. ii. p. 850). Evelyn says in *Sylva* (Edn. 1776, p. 396): "Amongst other things, it has of old been observed that the *Bay* is ominous of some funest accident, if that be so accounted which Suetonius (in Galba) affirms to have happened before the death of the monster Nero, when these trees generally withered to the very roots in a very mild winter: and much later; that in the year 1629, when at Padua, preceding a great pestilence, almost all the *Bay trees* about that famous University grew sick and perished."

189. Line 15: *These signs forerun the death OR FALL of kings*.—All the old copies except Q. 1 omit *or fall*. This vigorous and poetic descriptions of these *signs* and portents seems to have been founded on some published description of such phenomena. Holinshed makes no mention of them. In the Egerton MS. play (act. iv.) when the Duchess of Gloucester is about to leave Plashy, to visit the dying Queen Anne, just before her husband is treacherously made prisoner, occurs the following passage:

Cheney.

The lights of heauen are shut in pitchey clouds,
And flakes of fyre come tyling through the skye,
Like dnn ostents to some great tragedy.

Woodstock. God bless good Ann a Beame! I feare hir death
Wilbe the tragike sceane the sky foreshowes vs;
When kingdomes change, the very heaucus are troubled.

—Reprint, p. 69.

ACT III. SCENE 1.

190. Lines 11, 12:

*You have, in manner, with your sinful hours,
Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him.*

There is not the slightest historical authority for this statement. Richard II. was deeply attached to his first wife, Anne of Bohemia, called "the good Queen Anne;" and there does not seem to be any evidence in history of his having committed adultery. His second queen, Isabel, was still a child at this time. The real cause of complaint against Richard was his great extravagance in pageants, in dress, and in entertaining large numbers of persons in Westminster Hall and elsewhere. This extravagance and waste led to his exacting enormous sums of money from the people in taxes, which were made more oppressive than they need have been, owing to the collection of them being placed in the hands of greedy and unscrupulous favourites. Richard's character had much of the feminine element in it; he was always forming vehement attachments to men, more like the sentimental friendships, which exist between school-girls, than the manly and dignified relations which should exist between a king and his ministers.

191. Lines 20, 21:

*And sigh'd my English breath in foreign CLOUDS,
Eating the bitter bread of banishment.*

Compare Rom. and Jul. (l. 1. 138, 139):

With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew,
Adding to clouds more clouds with his deep sighs.

The second line occurs, word for word, in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Lovers' Progress*, v. 1:

and shall I decline
Eating the bitter bread of banishment.

—Works, vol. ii. p. 657

192. Line 23: *DISPARK'D my parks*.—The best explanation of this legal term is given by Malone, who says: "*To dispark* is a legal term, and signifies to divest a park, constituted by royal grant or prescription, of its name and character, by destroying the enclosures of such a park, and also the vert (or whatever bears green leaves, whether wood or underwood,) and the beasts of chase therein; and laying it open" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 89).

193. Lines 24, 25:

*From my own windows TORN MY HOUSEHOLD COAT,
RAZ'D OUT MY IMPRESE, leaving me no sign.*

Ferne, in his *Blazon of Gentry*, 1586 (quoted by Stevens), says "that the arms, &c. of traitors and rebels may be defaced and removed, wheresoever they are fixed, or set" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 89). Compare Spenser, in his description of the punishment of Braggadochio, the false knight:

*Then from him rent his shield, and it renvers'd,
And blotted out his armes with falsehood blent.*

—Faery Queen, bk. v. canto 3, st. xxxvii.

Imprese, sometimes spelt *imprese*, *imprease*, or *imprease*, is from the Italian *impresa*; it means not only a motto, but a device with a motto. The Italian form of the word is generally found in old plays, e.g. in *Pasquill* and *Katherine* (act i.): "What is't, a May-pole? Troth, 't were a good body for a courtiers *imprezza*, if it had but this life, *Frustra florescit*" (Simpson's School of Shakspeare, vol. ii. p. 137). Bolingbroke's motto was "*Souveraine*."

194. Line 29: *See them delivered*—Qq. and Ff. read "*See them delivered over*;" but the fact that Ff. as well as the four earlier quartos print *delivered* and not *deliver'd* points to the omission of *over*, which spoils the metre, and was very justly omitted by Pope, whom we have followed.

195. Line 32: *Lords, farewell*.—Omitted in Ff. Q. 5.

196. Line 42: *Come, MY lords, away*.—Qq. and Ff. *Come, lords, away*. Pope inserted *my*, which improves the metre, and does away with a very awkward line.

197. Line 43: *To fight with Glendower and his complices*.—This seems to be a slip on Shakespeare's part. As lines 42-44 rhyme, this looks like an interpolation. The Clarendon Edd. have the following note: "Owen Glendower, of Conway, the same who appears in I. Henry IV. was in attendance upon Richard 'as his beloved squire and minstrel.' He escaped from Flint when Richard was taken. The expedition against 'the said Owen and his unruly complices' (words used by Holinshed, p. 1132) was really not undertaken by Henry till the second year of his reign. Holinshed speaks of 'the Welshmen and their Captain,' meaning Glendower" (Clarendon Press Series, p. 119).

ACT III. SCENE 2.

198. Line 1: *BARKLOUGHLY CASTLE call you this*.—Holinshed says that Richard and his companions landed "neere the castell of *Barclowite* in Wales, about the feast of saint James the apostle, and staid a while in the same castell" (vol. ii. p. 854). There is no such castle known,

and it was probably an error for *Hertlowit* (the form in which it appears in Hearn's edition of the Life of Richard II. by a monk of Evesham) which was perhaps identical with Harlech in North Wales. "Fabrian and Stowe say that Richard landed at Milford Haven, and according to the French chronicler it was at Pembroke; but as his object was to join Salisbury at Conway, he would naturally have made for a more northern port" (Clarendon Press Series, p. 120).

199. Lines 2, 3:

*Yea, my GOOD lord. How brooks your grace the air
After late tossing on the breaking seas?*

In Qq. and Ff. the lines are printed thus:

*Yea, my lord. How brooks your grace the air,
After your late tossing on the breaking seas?*

Pope first inserted *good* in line 2, and omitted *late* in line 3, a slight alteration which very much improves the rhythm.

200. Lines 8, 9:

*As a long-parted mother with her child
Plays fondly with her tears and smiles in MEETING.*

Capell proposed to read "*in weeping*." Stevens thought the next line, "*So weeping smiling*," &c. plainly pointed to such an emendation; but surely it is unnecessary. *Smiles* is a substantive, not a verb; and as the line is printed in the text, it is perfectly intelligible.

201. Line 13: *Nor with thy sweets COMFORT his ravenous sense*.—We have placed the accent on the second syllable in *comfort*, because we thus avoid the two consecutive dactyls, *comfort his and ravenous*.

202. Lines 14-16:

*But let thy spiders, that suck up thy venom,
And heavy-gaited toads, lie in their way,
Doing annoyance to the treacherous feet.*

Shakespeare's natural history is not here so much at fault as at first sight might appear. Spiders, in this country at least, do not ever attack human beings, though there are, in tropical countries, some species whose bite is very venomous. But that the juice of spiders is believed to be venomous, the following instance narrated by Kirby and Spence in their Entomology, of a woman (who was in the habit, when she went into the cellar with a candle, of burning the spiders and their webs) will show. One day "she met with the following accident: The legs of one of these unhappy spiders happened to stick in the candle so that it could not disengage itself, and the body at length bursting, the venom was ejaculated into the eyes and upon the lips of its persecutrix. In consequence of this one of the former became inflamed, the latter swelled excessively, even the tongue and gums were slightly affected, and a continual vomiting attended these symptoms" (vol. i. p. 132). *Toads* are most aptly described as *heavy-gaited*; but that they are perfectly harmless is now well known, except that they secrete, in the follicles of the skin on the back and sides, an acrid and poisonous liquid; but inoculation with this secretion, in the case of a chicken, produced no injurious result. It is, however, poisonous in its effects on dogs, when it comes in contact with their tongue or lips.

200. Lines 20-22:

*with a lurking ADDER,
WHOSE DOUBLE TONGUE may with a MORTAL TONGUE
Throw death upon thy sovereign's enemies.*

Here Shakespeare falls into the error, still prevalent among many persons in this enlightened age, that the *double* (i.e. *forked*) tongue of a snake is poisonous. The poison resides in the *fang* of the *adder*, not in the *forked tongue*; this latter feature it possesses in common with the harmless common snake (*Natrix torquata*). But although one would think this was a well-known fact, I have found it almost impossible to persuade even persons of fair average education that the latter is perfectly harmless in spite of its forked tongue.

204. Line 27.—The Bishop of Carlisle was the only member of the Episcopate who remained faithful to Richard. See above, note 18; and below, note 331.

205. Line 34: *through our SECURITY*.—Compare Hecate's speech in *Macbeth* (iii. 5. 31, 32):

And you all know, *security*
Is mortals' chiefest enemy.

And above, in ii. 1. 266, *securely* is used in the sense of *carelessly*.

206. Lines 37, 38:

*That when the searching eye of heaven is hid,
Behind the globe, AND lights the lower world.*

Qq. and Ff. read "*that lights*," &c. The emendation is Johnson's; for, although the transposition of the second and third parts of the sentence would make good sense of the reading in the old copies, the simple emendation adopted makes much better sense; and the use of the words, *the antipodes*, below (line 49), seems to indicate that it is what the poet intended to write; the *lower world* means of course *the antipodes*.

207. Line 40: *in outrage BLOODY here*.—Q. 1 reads *boldly*; and though all the other old copies read (substantially) *bloody*, which makes good sense, Dyce adopts Collier's conjecture *boldly*, and is followed by the Camb. Edd. It is more likely that *boldly* was a misprint for *bloudy* than for *boldly*.

208. Line 49: *... AND steel*.—It is doubtful what is the exact meaning of *shrewd* here. Originally *shrewd* meant vexed, troubled, cursed; and so angry, malicious, wicked; in which latter sense it is used by Chaucer and Wicliff: but later *shrewd* seems to have come to mean bitter, cutting, keen. Compare *Hamlet* (i. 4. 1): "The air bites *shrewdly*." Here it may mean "sharp," or "wicked;" more probably the latter.

209. Lines 60, 61:

*God for his Richard hath in heavenly pay
A glorious angel.*—

Compare the Egerton MS. play (act v.):

Thou canst not kill me, villayne!
Gods holly angle guards a just mans life,
And with his radiant beames as bright as fire
Will guard and keepe his righteous Innocence:
I am a prince, thou dar'st not murder me.

—Reprint, p. 84.

210. Line 64: *Nor NEAR, nor farther off*.—Compare below (v. 1. 88):

Better *far off* than, *near*, be *neer* the *near*.

So, *far* is used for *farther* in *Winter's Tale* (iv. 4. 442): "*Far* from Deucalion *off*."

211. Line 65: *DISCOMFORT guides my tongue*.—Compare above, line 36: "*Discomfortable* cousin."

212. Line 79: *Have I not reason to look pale and DEAD!*
—Compare II. Henry IV. i. 1. 70-72:

Even such a man, so faint, so spiritless,
So dull, so *dead in look*, so woe-begone,
Drew Priam's curtain in the dead of night.

213. Lines 89, 90:

*Hath power enough to serve our turn.—
But who comes here?*

Printed as one line in Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4: we follow the arrangement of Ff. and Q. 5.

214. Line 112: *WHITE-BEARDS have arm'd their thin and hairless scalp*.—In Ff. and Q. 5 is found the ridiculous misprint *White Bears*.

215. Line 114: *and CLAP their FEMALE joints*.—Pope changed *clap*, unnecessarily, to *clasp*; and Bitson proposed *clip*; but no change is necessary. *Clap* conveys the sense of suddenly putting on. Compare Henry VIII. (i. 4. 8, 9):

The very thought of this fair company
Clapp'd wings to me.

"*Their female joints*" means "*their joints weak as women's*."

216. Line 117: *Of DOUBLE-FATAL YEW*.—The epithet refers to the fact that the leaves (not the berries) of the *yew* are very *poisonous* to cattle; and that *bows* were made from the wood of that tree. Steevens suggests that *yews* were planted in churchyards "on account of their use in making *bows*; while by the benefit of being secured in enclosed places, their *poisonous* quality was kept from doing mischief to cattle" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 98).

217. Line 122: *where is BAGOT?*—It seems to be an oversight that Richard should ask *where Bagot is* at this point; as below, at line 132, he only speaks of "*Thres Judases*;" and again (line 141) Aumerle asks:

Is Bushy, Green, and the Earl of Wiltshire dead?

Bagot had made his way to Chester, and thence to Ireland (see ii. 2. 141). Theobald proposed to read: "*where is he got?*" i.e. "*where is the Earl of Wiltshire got to?*" but no alteration is necessary. Shakespeare made a similar mistake in ii. 3. 165, where Bolingbroke says that Bristol Castle is held

By Bushy, *Bagot* and their complices.

218. Lines 153, 154:

*And that small MODEL of the barren earth
Which serves as PASTE and COVER to our bones.*

The sense given to *model* in the foot-note is the one usually accepted, although Douce suggests that it here means *quantity*. But putting aside the fact that I can find no instance of the use of *model* in that sense, in any writer, it is evident that the reference is to the rounded, oblong mound which is raised over graves, and which may be

called the rough *mould* of the body; and, unpoetical as it is, Johnson's observation is quite true that the metaphor, in line 154, is taken from a *pie*, the mound over the body being compared to the crust of a *pie*.

219. Lines 157, 158:

*How some have been DEPOS'D; some slain in war;
Some haunted by the ghosts they have DEPOS'D.*

Pope proposed *disposess'd*; and Walker conjectures *depriv'd*, in place of *depos'd* in the second line, in order to avoid the tautology. We have not altered the text as printed by all Qq. and Ff.; because the repetition of *depos'd* was, perhaps, intentional.

220. Lines 160-163:

*for within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps DEATH his court; and there the antic sits,
Scoffing his state, and grinning at his pomp.*

Douce (Illustrations, pp. 252, 253) says: "Some part of this fine description might have been suggested from the seventh print in the *Imagines mortis*, a celebrated series of wooden cuts which have been improperly attributed to Holbein. It is probable that Shakespeare might have seen some spurious edition of this work; for the great scarcity of the original in this country in former times is apparent, when Hollar could not procure the use of it for his *copy* of the Dance of Death." This is highly probable, as the description certainly seems to have been suggested by some picture; but it may have been taken from some old *Book of Emblems*, though there is no allusion to this passage in Green's "Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers." It may be observed that the *picture* referred to, in the *Imagines Mortis*, or Dance of Death, represents a king on his throne with courtiers about him, while a grinning skeleton stands behind in the act of removing the crown from his head. As Rolfe justly remarks in regard to this picture: "*Death is not sitting in the crown, as S. expresses it, and as the commentators also state it . . . The skeleton, being directly behind the king, appears at first glance to be rising from the crown.*"

221. Lines 168, 169:

*and humour'd thus,
Comes at the last, &c.*

The construction, in this passage, is very obscure; the Clarendon Press Edd. seem to be the only commentators who have drawn attention to it. Is it a *king*, or *Death*, that is *humour'd thus*? Probably the meaning is "the king having been *humour'd* in being allowed

To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks;

Death comes at the last, &c. The construction is a kind of alulative absolute with the substantive left out. Or, possibly, it means that *Death*, having thus enjoyed his humour of letting the king some respite, comes at the last, &c.

222. Lines 175-177:

*I live with bread like you, LIKE YOU feel want,
LIKE YOU taste grief, need friends: subjected thus,
How can you say to me, I am a king?*

These lines stand thus in the Qq. and Ff.:

*I live with bread like you, feel want,
Taste grief, need friends, subjected thus, &c.*

The very halting rhythm points to some omission; the emendation, by which we have ventured to supply the deficient syllables, seems as probable as any, and does no unnecessary violence to the text.

ACT III. SCENE 3.

223. Line 1.—According to Holinshed's account the Castle of Flint was surrendered to Northumberland (vol. ii. p. 856); and King Richard, who was in Conway Castle, leaving that for Flint, fell into an ambush laid by Northumberland, and was taken by him to Flint Castle.

224. Line 9: *Your grace mistakes ME.*—Qq. and Ff. omit me: it was added by Rowe.

225. Lines 17-19:

*Lest you mistake: the heavens are o'er YOUR head.
Boling. I know it, uncle, and DARE NOT OPPOSE
Myself against their will.—But who comes here?*

The text is evidently corrupt in this passage. In line 17 Q. 1, Q. 2 read "over OUR heads;" Q. 3, Q. 4 "over your heads;" the reading in our text being that of Ff. and Q. 5. The next two lines Qq. and Ff. read thus (substantially):

*I know it, uncle, and oppose not myself
Against their will. But who comes here?*

The emendation printed in our text (for which I am responsible) seems a probable one; for the *are* of line 17 might easily have led the transcriber to overlook the *dare* in line 18. It is far too important a passage to be left in the miserably unrhythmical condition, in which the Qq. and Ff. have left it.

226. Line 20: *WHAT, Harry! WELCOME.*—Qq. and Ff. have *Welcome Harry, what*. The transposition of the words restores the rhythm of the line.

227. Line 32: *Go to the RUDE RIBS of that ancient castle.*—Compare King John (ii. 1. 384):

The flinty ribs of this contemptuous city.

228. Line 52: *TATTER'D battlements.*—So (substantially) Q. 3, Q. 4, Ff. Q. 5; but Q. 1, Q. 2 have *tattered*. The word is the same, only the spelling is different. Compare I. Henry IV. iv. 2. 37: "a hundred and fiftie *tatter'd* Prodigalls" (in F. 1). So in the Noble Soldier, by S. R. (1634) (ll. 1) "*tatter'd* rascals fought pell mell" (Bullen's Old English Plays, vol. i. p. 279).

229. Line 61—What was known as "the upper stage" was supposed to represent Flint Castle. On "the upper stage" Richard appeared: Bolingbroke and his forces marching past in front of "the lower stage."

230. Line 62: *Percy. See, see, King Richard doth himself appear.*—We follow Dyce in giving this speech to Percy. Qq. and Ff. give it absurdly to Bolingbroke. Hammer gave it to York, and Charles Kean to Northumberland; but Northumberland has not spoken with respect of King Richard, while Percy has.

231. Line 88: *Have TORN their souls by turning them from us.*—Dyce suggests *lorn*, but does not adopt it. The

sense seems to be "have perjured themselves;" and Rolfe's explanation that "the metaphor seems to be taken from the act of tearing a legal document" seems a very probable one. *Lorn*, the past participle of the verb "to lose," is used by Chaucer and Spenser, but not by Shakespeare. It may be that *lorn* is merely intended to convey here the act of violently tearing up, as it were, their allegiance by the roots; or it may mean *tortured*, as in the following passage from Beaumont and Fletcher's *King and No King*, II. 1:

Nay, should I join with you,
Should we not both be *lorn*.
—Works, vol. i. p. 56.

322. Line 94: *The PURPLE testament of bleeding war*.—Purple here = bloodstained, as in Julius Cæsar (III. 1. 158):
Now, whilst your *purpled* hands do reek and smoke.

323. Line 100: *the BURIED hand of WARLIKE Gaunt*.—Warburton wanted to read: "the *warlike hand of buried Gaunt*," which is undoubtedly the sense. But Ritson, in his note (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 110), has collected so many instances of a similar misplacement of epithets in Shakespeare that we cannot hold any alteration of the text necessary. Take, as one instance, II. Henry VI. (iv. 7. 108):

These hands are free from *guiltless bloodshedding*,
instead of:

These *guiltless hands* are free from bloodshedding.

324. Lines 112-114.—The value to be placed on Bolingbroke's oaths may be estimated from what he did, better than from what he said. Richard promptly granted these demands; but that did not prevent the truthful and honourable Harry Bolingbroke from proceeding to do what he probably intended to do from the first, viz. to imprison Richard, and to seize the crown himself. Northumberland, who was destined to give the successful usurper a great deal of trouble, probably knew from the first what Bolingbroke's intentions were.

325. Line 149: *My GAY APPAREL for an almsman's gown*.—Richard's extravagance in dress, not only in his own person, but in the liveries of his courtiers and attendants of all kinds, is frequently alluded to in the Egerton MS. play, and is thus noticed by Holinshed: "And in gorgeous and costly apparell they exceeded all measure, not one of them that kept within the bounds of his degree. Yeomen and groomes were clothed in silkes, with cloth of graue and skarlet, ouer sumptuous ye may be sure for their estates. And this vanitie was not onelie vsed in the court in those daies, but also other people abroad in the towns and countries, had their garments cut far otherwise than had beene accustomed before his daies, with imbroderies, rich furies, and goldsmiths worke, and euerie daie there was deuising of new fashions, to the great hinderance and decalaie of the common-wealth" (vol. II. p. 863).

326. Line 162: *Our Rigs and they shall LODGE the summer corn*.—Compare II. Henry VI. III. 2. 176:

Like to the summer's corn by tempest *lodg'd*.

327. Line 176: *in the BASE COURT*.—Derived from French, *basse cour*, the outer court of the castle, surrounded by stables and servants' offices; generally on a lower level than the inner court, which was surrounded by the dwell-

ing-rooms, chapel, &c. *Shæven's* quotes Greene's *Farewell to Follie* (1617): "—began, at the entrance into the *basse court*, to use these words."

328. Lines 194, 195:
yourt heart is up, I know,
Thus high at least [Touching his own head].

This is always a great point with the actor of Richard II. Charles Kean, copying his father, produced much effect in this speech. The meaning is, of course, that Bolingbroke is aiming at the crown.

329. Lines 204, 205:
Cousin, I am too YOUNG to be your FATHER,
Though you, &c.

Bolingbroke and Richard were both born in the year 1300; they were now both thirty-three years old.

340. Line 200: *Then I must not say no*.—Stowe gives the following account of their setting out from Flint: "The duke with a high sharpe voyce bade bring forth the kings horses, and then two little nagges, not worth forty franks, were brought forth; the king was set on the one, and the earle of Salisbury on the other: and thus the duke brought the king from Chester, where he was delivered to the duke of Glocesters sonne and to the earle of Arundel's sonne, (that loved him but little, for he had put their fathers to death,) who led him straight to the castle" (see Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 115).

ACT III. SCENE 4.

341. Line 1.—The scene is laid at *Langley* (now called King's Langley), the Duke of York's palace, near St. Alban's. In II. 2. 116, York says to the queen: "Come, cousin, I'll dispose of you;" see also III. 1. 38. According to the French (anonymous) chronicler, who wrote an account of "The Betrayal and Death of Richard II. King of England," the queen, after Richard's departure, retired to Wallingford. Lingard says that "The Earl of Wiltshire, with Bussy and Greene, members of the committee of parliament, had been appointed to wait on the young queen at Wallingford; but they suddenly abandoned their charge, and fled with precipitation to Bristol" (vol. III. p. 384). This scene, in Charles Kean's arrangement of this play, is the first scene of act IV.

342. Line 4: *the world is full of RUBS*.—At the game of bowls a *rub* means when a bowl is stopped in its course by some inequality of the ground. Richardson (*sub voce*) quotes from Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* vol. I. the following passage: "He (Elmer) used for recreation to bowl in a garden, and Martin Marprelate thence took this taunting scoff, that the Bishop would cry *Rub, rub, rub*, to his bowl, and, when twas gone too far, say, the devil go with it, and then, quoth he the bishop would follow."

343. Line 19: *Madam, I'll SING*.—It was probably this line which suggested the introduction of the song in the revival of this play at Drury Lane in 1815, in which Edmund Kean appeared. (See our Introduction, p. 7.)

344. Lines 22, 23:
And I could WEEP, would weeping do me good,
And never borrow any tear of thee.

Qq. and Ff. read, "And I could *sing*," which Pope altered to *weep*, an emendation fully justified by line 23. We have followed the Variorum, Dyce, and Singer in adopting it.

245. Line 32: *Give some SUPPORTANCE*.—Used by Shakespeare only in this passage, and in *Twelfth Night* (III. 4. 329): "for the *supportance* of his vow."

246. Line 46: *Her KNOTS disorder'd*.—Compare Love's Labour's Lost (I. 1. 249): "thy *curious-knotted garden*." See note 16 of that play in our edition.

247. Line 57: *WE at time of year*.—*We* is omitted in Qq. and Ff.: it was first supplied by Capell. Both sense and metre absolutely require it.

248. Line 72: *O, I am PRESS'D TO DEATH*.—This alludes to the old punishment of *peine forte et dure*, inflicted on those who declined to plead to the indictment against them; it consisted in piling weights on the wretched victim's chest. Compare Much Ado (III. 1. 70): "*press me to death with wit*."

249. Lines 73, 74:

THOU,—

[She pauses, as if half-choked by her emotion]

Old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,

HOW DARES

Thy harsh rude tongue sound this displeasing news?

Printed as two lines only in Qq. and Ff.:

Thou, old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden

How dares thy harsh rude tongue sound this displeasing news?

F. 2, Q. 5, F. 3, F. 4 omit *rude* in second line. Pope omits *old* in first line, and *harsh, rude* in second line; but this is rather an arbitrary proceeding. It is evident that the lines as arranged in the old copies are anything but rhythmical. We have arranged them as above, believing that the detached syllables *Thou*, and *How dares*, express the violent agitation of the queen's feelings, and were not intended to form part of either line.

250. Line 105: *I'll set a bank of RUE, sour HERB OF GRACE*.—This plant (*Ruta graveolens*) was once much cultivated in English gardens for its medicinal qualities. *Rue* is, of course, an English form of the Latin name; but as to *rue* means "to be sorry," and so "to repent," and as repentance is the chief sign of grace, it came to be called "Herb of Grace." Loudon, writing in 1838, said "it is to this day called Ave Grace in Sussex." Its specific Latin name *graveolens* is derived from its strong aromatic smell; it has a very bitter taste, and was used extensively in old prescriptions. To its supposed quality as an eye-salve Milton alludes in *Paradise Lost*:

then purg'd with euphrasy and *rue*

The visual nerve, for he had much to see.

—Book xi. lines 414, 415.

Dr. Daubeny says of it, "it is a powerful stimulant and narcotic, but not much used in modern practice" (see Ellacombe's *Plant Lore of Shakespeare*, p. 206). *Rue* is frequently mentioned in Shakespeare. Compare *Hamlet* (IV. 6. 181, 182): "there's *rue* for you; and here's some for me: we may call it *herb-grace* o' Sundays."

ACT IV. SCENE 1.

251. Line 1—Westminster Hall had been rebuilt by Richard; the work was commenced in 1397, and completed in 1399. The first Parliament held in the new building, was summoned for the purpose of dethroning Richard. Shakespeare has, in this scene, mixed up the proceedings of two Parliaments, that which met on September 30th, 1399, the writs for which were issued in King Richard's name; and that which met on October 6th, having been summoned by Henry immediately on his assuming the crown. It was in the latter Parliament, on October 19th, that the accusations against the Duke of Gloucester (Albemarle) were made.

252. Line 10: *In that DEAD time*.—It is doubtful whether *dead* here means "dark and dreary" as the Clarendon Press Edd. explain it, or "deadly" as Schmidt explains it. In *Hamlet* (I. 1. 65) we have "jump at this *dead* hour," i.e. midnight, the hour when nearly all life is apparently dead (in sleep). In *Mids. Night's Dream* (II. 2. 57):

So should a murderer look, so *dead*, so grim.

The word, certainly, seems to mean "deadly;" unless it means, as we say now, "so *deadly* pale."

253. Line 12: *the RESTFUL English court*, probably means "quiet," "peaceful." Compare *Sonn.* lxxvi. 1:

Ti'd with all these, for *restful* death I cry.

Some explain it as = "stationary;" while the Clarendon Press Edd. give the sense as "quiet, reposing; because it had no need to act, but only to give orders." The simplest meaning, i.e. "peaceful," is most likely to be the right one here; as England was, at the time alluded to, at peace with all foreign powers.

254. Line 21: *Shall I so much dishonour MY FAIR STARS*.—This, undoubtedly, means "Shall I dishonour *my birth*?" and refers to the common belief that the stars influenced the circumstances of one's birth. In Holland's Translation of Pliny's *Natural History* (bk. ii. chap. viii.) we find: "The *Starres* which we said were fixed in the heaven, are not (as the common sort thinketh) assigned to every one of us; and appointed to men respectively: namely, the bright and faire for the rich, the lesse for the poore: the dimme for the weak, the aged and feeble; neither shine they out more or lesse, according to the lot and fortune of every one, nor arise they each one together with that person unto whom they are appropriate; and die likewise with the same: ne yet as they set and fall, do they signifie that any bodie is dead." Compare *All's Well* (I. 1. 126, 127):

we the poorer born

Whose *baser stars* do shut us up in wishes.

255. Line 29: *To STAIN the TEMPER of my knightly SWORD*.—Compare I. Henry IV. (v. 2. 94):

A sword, whose *temper* I intend to stain

With the best blood that I can meet withal.

The Clarendon Press Edd. say: "The harder the steel the brighter pollux would it take, hence the pollux may be taken as a measure of the *temper*."

256. Line 38: *If thou DENI'ST it twenty times, thou liest*.—Printed *deniest* in F. 1. The elision of the *e* is not attended to so carefully, in the first Folio, with regard to

those words ending in *ied*, as with regard to others in which such elision is necessary for the metre. The reader who has a sensitive ear will notice that this line is singularly cacophonous, owing to the letter *t* occurring so often in close succession.

257. Line 52: *I task THEE to the like*.—This is Capell's reading. Q. 1 reads "I task the earth to the like:" Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4 "take the earth."

258. Line 55: *From SUN to SUN*—i.e. from sunrise to sunset. Compare Cymbeline (ii. 2. 69-71):

How many score of miles may we well ride

'Twixt hour and hour?

Fit One score 'twixt sun and sun,
Madam's enough for you.

It may mean from sunrise on one day to sunrise on the next; but the former is the more probable meaning. Malone quotes: "The time appointed for the *duello* (says Saviolo) hath alwaies been 'twixt the rising and the setting sun; and whoever in that time doth not prove his intent, can never after be admitted the combat upon that quarrel." On Honour and honourable Quarrels, 4to, 1595. Qq. read "from *sin* to *sin*," which Henley explains as meaning "from one denial to another" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 125).

259. Line 65: *Dishonourable BOY*!—Fitzwater was, at this time, thirty-one years old; so that the word *boy* is applied contemptuously. Compare Coriolanus (v. 6. 101):

Name not the god, thou *boy* of tears!

and subsequent lines 104, 113, 117, where Coriolanus represents the term *boy* with the greatest indignation.

260. Line 67: *VENGEANCE and REVENGE*.—This tautology was not unusual where it was sought to express intensity. Instances of it occur frequently in the Liturgy of the Church of England.

261. Line 74: *I dare meet Surrey in a WILDERNESS*.—Johnson thus explains this line: "I dare meet him where no help can be had by me against him." Compare Beaumont and Fletcher, *Lover's Progress* (v. 2):

Maintain thy treason with thy sword? With what
Contempt I hear it! in a wilderness
I durst encounter it.

—Works, vol. ii. p. 652.

262. Lines 97, 98:

and there at Venice gave
His body to that pleasant country's earth.

Hollnshed says: "The Duke of Norfolk departed sorrowfullie out of the realme into Almanie, and at the last came to Venice, where he for thought and melancholie deceased" (vol. ii. p. 348). Hollnshed subsequently alludes to his death (vol. iii. p. 9) as taking place some time in this year (1399). According to Lingard: "Norfolk, after a short residence in Germany, visited Jerusalem, and in his return died of a broken heart at Venice" (vol. iii. p. 379). He gives the date in the margin, apparently on the authority of Rymer, as September 29th, 1399. Richard's deposition took place on September 30th, and therefore Norfolk's death could not then have been known in England.

263. Lines 103, 104:

Sweet peace conduct his sweet soul to the BOSOM
Of good old ABRAHAM!

Compare Richard III. (iv. 3. 38):

The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom.

264. Line 112: *of that name the fourth*.—So Ft.: Qq. read *fourth of that name*.

265. Line 116: *Yet best BESEEMING ME to speak the truth*—i.e. "Yet I speak as best befitting me (being a bishop) to speak the truth." Johnson suggests:

Yet best becoms it me to speak the truth.

But the construction is not more lax than many which occur in Shakespeare.

266. Line 141:—*Shall KIN with KIN and KIND with KIND confound*.—*Kin* refers to blood-relationship; *kind* to our common human nature. Compare Hamlet (i. 2. 65):

A little more than *kin*, and less than *kind*.

267. Line 149: *Lest CHILD, CHILD's children*.—So all the old copies. Pope, quite unnecessarily, reads "*children's children*," which Dyce and other editors adopt.

268. Lines 155-318.—These lines (105 in all) are not found in Q. 1, Q. 2; but Q. 3, Q. 4 both give them, though not so carefully printed as in F. 1. Whether the lines were added by Shakespeare after 1598 (the date of Q. 2), or whether they formed part of the original play, but were omitted out of respect for the susceptibility of Queen Elizabeth, is not certain. Looking at them from a dramatist's point of view, as they do not in the least advance the action of the piece, they bear the appearance of having been inserted in order "to write up" the part of Richard, for the sake of the actor.

269. Lines 183-187.—With these lines compare the following passage in Day's *Isle of Gulls* (ii. 3): "I can compare my lord and his friend to nothing in the world so fitly as to a couple of water-buckets; for whilst hope winds the one up dispaire plunges the other downe" (Works, p. 40 (of play)).

270. Lines 196, 197:

MY CARE is loss of CARE, by old CARE done;

Your CARE is gain of CARE, by new CARE won.

The meaning of this tiresome jingle is: "My sorrow is loss of the care attending the office of king, by the cessation of that office; your trouble is the gain of care by having won that office with all the anxieties attending on it."

271. Line 210: *all DUTY's RITES*.—Q. 3, Q. 4 have *duties rites*: Ft. Q. 5 (substantially) *duteous oaths*. The reading in our text seems the preferable one, the meaning being "the ceremonial observances due from subjects to their sovereign."

272. Line 215: *God keep all vows unbroke ARE MADE to thee*.—So Ft. Q. 5; it is a common elliptical construction = "(that) are made." Q. 3, Q. 4 read *that swear to thee*, a reading which seems to be little better than nonsense; but some editors prefer it. I do not understand why the Camb. Edd., after saying in their preface that F. 1 is our

highest authority for this scene, deliberately adopt the faulty reading of Q 3, Q. 4.

273. Line 225: *Against the STATE AND PROFIT of this land.*—Hunter explains these words "the constitution and prosperity," which is probably the right explanation.

274. Line 232: *To read a LECTURE of them*—i.e. to read them aloud. Compare *As You Like It* (iii. 2. 305): "I have heard him read many lectures against it." *Lecture* properly means nothing more than "the act of reading."

275. Lines 255-257:

*I have no name, no title,—
No, not that name was given me at the font,—
But 't is USURP'D.*

It may be asked how could Richard's baptismal name be said to be *usurp'd*? The general explanation given is that, in resigning his crown, he had resigned all the privileges of his birth. But may not Richard allude to the accusation of bastardy, brought against him by some of the people, when he was being sent from Westminster to the Tower (on August 31st, 1399), "The king . . . as he went along, was greeted with curses, and the appellation of 'the bastard,' a word of ominous import, and prophetic of his approaching degradation." "This alluded" (adds Lingard in a note) "to a report which had been spread that he was not the son of the Black Prince, but of a canon of Bordeaux" (see Lingard, vol. iii. p. 302).

276. Lines 282, 283:

*That every day under his household roof
Did keep TEN THOUSAND MEN?*

Richard is said to have entertained daily 10,000 men in Westminster Hall. This circumstance is referred to in the Egerton MS. play (act ii.):

Greene. What cheer shall we have to dinner, King Richard?
King. No matter what to day, wele ment it shortly.

The hall at Westminster shalbe inlayd,
And only serue vs for a dyneing rone,
Where in 110 dayly feast (10000) men.

—Reprint, p. 32.

But it is scarcely fair to say that he kept *ten thousand men under his household roof*.

277. Line 317: *O, good! CONVEY? CONVEYERS are you all.*—Compare *Merry Wives* (i. 3. 30-32):

Nym. The good humour is to *steal* at a minute's rest
Pist. "Convey," the wise it call.

278. Lines 319, 320:

*On WEDNESDAY next we solemnly set down
Our coronation: lords, prepare yourselves.*

Henry was crowned on Monday, October 13th (St. Edward's day). Q. 1, Q. 2, which omit the parliament scene, read:

Let it be so, and loc on wednesday next,
We solemnly proclaim our Coronation,
Lords be ready all.

ACT V. SCENE 1.

279. Line 2: *To JULIUS CÆSAR'S ill-erected TOWER.*—Compare Richard III. (iii. 1. 69-74):

Prince. Did *Julius Cæsar* build that place, my lord?
Buck. He did, my gracious lord, begin that place;
Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.

Prince. Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?
Buck. Upon record, my gracious lord.

In that passage Shakespeare gives what is, probably, the correct version of the historical tradition as to the share of *Julius Cæsar* in the building of the *Tower of London*.

280. Line 3: *To whose FLINT bosom.*—Compare v. 5. 19-21:

how these vain weak nails
May tear a passage through the *flinty* ribs
Of this hard world, my ragged prison walls.

281. Lines 11, 12:

*Ah, thou, the MODEL where old Troy did stand,
Thou MAP of honour, thou King Richard's tomb.*

Malone says: "*Model*, it has already been observed, is used by our author, for a thing made after a pattern. He is, I believe, singular in this use of the word. Thou ruined majesty, says the queen, that *resembest* the desolated waste where Troy once stood" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 140). The Clarendon Press Ed. explain it thus: "the groundplan of the ruined city, to be traced only by the foundations of the walls. So Richard is only the ruin of his former self."

Map of honour seems to mean not the mere outline, but the lifeless picture of *honour*. In II. Henry VI. (iii. 1. 202, 203) we have the same expression in a different sense:

in thy face I see
The *map of honour*.

And in *Lucrece* (line 402) sleep is called "the *map of death*." The whole of this scene is full of affectations, especially the queen's speeches.

282. Lines 13-15:

*thou most beauteous INN,
Why should hard-favour'd grief be lodg'd in thee,
When triumph is become an ALEHOUSE guest?*

Richard is contrasted with *Bolingbroke* as an *inn* compared to an *alehouse*, just as we might contrast an hotel with a pothouse. The very same expression, *beauteous inn*, used in the same metaphorical sense, occurs in the following passage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Lovers' Progress* (v. 3):

and 't is my wonder,
If such misshapen guests as Lust and Murder,
At any price, should ever find a lodging
In such a *beauteous inn*!

—Works, vol. ii. p. 658.

283. Lines 20, 21:

*I am SWORN BROTHER, sweet,
To grim Necessity.*

Alluding to the *fratres jurati*, or *sworn brothers*, who, in the age of chivalry, swore to share their fortunes together. Compare *Much Ado* (i. 1. 72, 73): "He hath every month a new *sworn brother*."

284. Line 23: *And cloister thee in some RELIGIOUS HOUSE.*—A *religious house* is, of course, a monastery. Compare *As You Like It* (v. 4. 187):

The duke hath put on a *religious* life.

285. Line 25: *Which our profane hours here have STRICKEN down.*—As referring to the child-queen Isabel,

this line is nonsense; and Richard's first queen was without a stain of scandal. She was always called "The good Queen Anne." *Stricken* is used in Julius Caesar (ii. i. 192): "The clock hath *stricken* three."

286. Line 34: WHICH art a lion and a king of beasts.—For this use of the neuter relative for the masculine, compare the Anglican version of the Lord's Prayer: "Our Father *which* art in heaven." The Roman Catholic version has *who*.

287. Lines 46, 47:

the senseless brands will SYMPATHIZE

The heavy accent of thy moving tongue.

Compare, for the transitive use of *sympathize*, Love's Labour's Lost (iii. i. 52, 63): "A message well *sympathized*; a horse to be ambassador for an ass."

288. Lines 55-68.—The prophecy contained in this speech was fulfilled; Northumberland proving afterwards to Henry IV. one of the most troublesome of his rebellious subjects. See above, note 13.

289. Lines 74, 75:

Let me UNKISS the oath 'twixt thee and me;

And yet not so, for with a kiss 't was made.

This refers to the kiss of betrothal. See Two Gentlemen of Verona, note 39; Taming of the Shrew, note 120.

290. Line 80: *Sent back like HALLOWMAS or SHORT'ST OF DAY.*—*Hallowmas* was All Souls Day, the 2nd of November, not the 1st, which is All Saints, the eve of All Souls (see Two Gentlemen of Verona, note 34). It certainly was not the shortest day, even in Shakespeare's time, when it was ten days nearer the winter solstice; nor do I believe the proper sense of the passage requires us to take *Hallowmas* and the *short'st of day* to be identical. Richard says his wife "set forth in pomp," and "came adorned hither like *sweet May*;" now she is sent back like the sad season, when the souls of the dead are prayed for, and all the world recalls its losses by death, or the *shortest day*, when there is little or no sunshine as there is in *May*. For the expression *short'st of day*=shortest day, compare Macbeth (iii. l. 118): "my *near'st* of life"="my *nearest* life."

291. Line 88: *Better far off than, near, be ne'er the near.*—The meaning is "Better you should be far off than, being near me, be never the nearer to me;" for she would be ne'er the nearer to him, if he were imprisoned, and she not allowed to visit him.

ACT V. SCENE 2.

292. Line 1.—It is doubtful where this scene is intended to take place. Capell places it in London; but line 3, where the Duchess says:

Of our two cousins coming into London

"would seem to show that she was not in London" (Clarendon Press Edn. p. 144). The words *coming into* are quite consistent with the fact that the speaker was then in London, though she had not seen the entry of Richard and Bolingbroke. However, it is more probable that the scene is meant to be at the Duke of York's

palace at Langley, for Holinshed says: "this earle of Rutland departing before from Westminster to see his father the duke of Yorke," &c. (vol. iii. p. 10), which makes it clear the Duke of York was not then in London. *Langley*, or *King's Langley*, is nearer Windsor (where the king now was) than London is.

293. Lines 15-17:

and that all the walls

With painted imagery had said at once

"Jesu preserve thee! welcome, Bolingbroke!"

Shakespeare does not say that the walls "were hung" with painted imagery, but that "you would have thought they were." No doubt, as Malone suggests, he was thinking of the painted cloths "that were hung in the streets, in the pageants that were exhibited in his own time; in which the figures sometimes had labels issuing from their mouths containing sentences of gratulation" (Var. Ed. vol. xvi. p. 147).

294. Line 28: *Did scowl on Richard; no man cried "God save him!"*—Qq. print "gentle Richard;" Ff. omit *gentle*. As the epithet *gentle* occurs below (line 31), we have followed the Ff. in omitting it here, the omission being a great improvement to the metre.

295. Line 37.—The beautiful description comprised in lines 7-36 was, as far as we know, derived from no historical or traditional source. No one can fail to notice the sudden descent into bald commonplace which characterizes lines 37-45. The contrast is so great, that it is impossible not to suspect that Shakespeare had an older and inferior play before him when he was at work on this tragedy.

296. Lines 42, 43:

But that is lost for being Richard's friend,

And, madam, you must call him RUTLAND now.

Holinshed says, speaking of the transactions of the first parliament of Henry IV.: "Finally, to avoid further inconvenience, and to qualifie the minds of the envious, it was finally enacted, that such as were appellants in the last parliament against the duke of Gloucester and other, should in this wise following be ordered. The dukes of Aumarle, Surrie, and Excester there present, were iudged to loose their names of dukes, together with the honora, titles and dignities thereunto belonging" (vol. iii. p. 7).

297. Lines 46, 47:

Welcome, my son: who are the VIOLETS now

That strew the GREEN LAY of the new-come SPRING?

The *spring* is the reign of Bolingbroke; the *violets*, his earliest courtiers. Compare Milton, Song on May Morning, lines 3, 4:

The flowery May, who from her green lap throws

The yellow cowslip and the pale primrose.

298. Line 52: *What news from Oxford? hold those jousts and triumphs!*—Holinshed thus describes the plan of the conspirators: "at length by the aduise of the earle of Huntington it was deuised, that they should take vpon them a solemne iousts to be enterprised betweene him and 20 on his part, and the earle of Salisbury and 20 with him at Oxford, to the which triumph k. Henrie should be

desired, and when he should be most buslie marking the martiall pastime, he suddenlie should be slaine and destroyed" (vol. iii. p. 10).

299. Line 56: *What SEAL is that, that hangs without thy bosom?*—See Romeo and Juliet, note 184. The circumstance of the seal was Shakespeare's invention. Holinshed says that as Rutland (Aumerle) sat at dinner he "had his counterpane of the indenture of the confederacie in his *bosome*," and that "The father espieing it, would needs see what it was: and though the sonne humbly denied to shew it, the father being more earnest to see it, by force tooke it out of his *bosome*" (vol. iii. p. 10).

300. Line 81: *I will not PEACE.*—Compare ii. 3. 87: "*grace me no grace.*" The duchess makes a verb out of *peace*, in the same way as York, in the line quoted, makes a verb out of *grace*.

301. Line 90: *Have we more sons?*—York had one more son at least, Richard Earl of Cambridge, who figures among the dramatical personæ of Henry V.

302. Line 98: *And INTERCHANGEABLY set down their Aznds.*—Compare I. Henry IV. iii. 1. 80, 81:

*And our indentures tripartite are drawn;
Which being sealed INTERCHANGEABLY.*

Holinshed says: "Hervpon was an indenture sextipartite made, sealed with their seales, and signed with their hands, in the which each stood bound to other, to do their whole indevauour for the accomplishing of their purposed exploit" (vol. iii. p. 10). The *have ta'en the sacrament* of the line above means nothing more but that they had taken a solemn oath; Holinshed says, "on the holie euangelists."

303. Lines 102, 103:

*Hadst thou groen'd for him
As I have done, thou WOULDST be more pitiful.*

These lines are printed in the Qq. and Ff. thus:

*Hadst thou groen'd for him as I have done,
Thou wouldst be more pitiful.*

except that the Ff. read *wouldst*, which we have retained, arranging the line as usually arranged by modern editors, who nearly all retain *wouldst*, so making the line (103) a very clumsy verse. The reading of the Folio makes it at least a good Alexandrine.

ACT V. SCENE 3.

304. Line 1: *Can no man tell me of MY UNTHRIFTY SON?*—This speech is interesting as being the first mention of Prince Henry, Shakespeare's favourite royal hero. As the *unthrifty son* was only twelve years old at this time, he could scarcely have begun his career of dissipation. But Shakespeare, wisely, had no fear of anachronisms.

305. Line 10: *WHILE he, young WANTON and EFFEMINATE boy.*—While is Pope's emendation for which, the reading of all the old copies. *Wanton* is here a substantive. Compare King John, v. 1. 69, 70:

*Shall a beardless boy,
A cocker'd silken wanton, brave our fields?*

Effeminate seems a singularly inappropriate epithet for Prince Henry, the friend of Falstaff; whatever his faults or vices, they were certainly those of a man.

306. Line 34: *If ON the first.*—Malone explains this phrase: "If your fault stands only on *intention.*" We have preferred to keep the reading of the old copies here, rather than adopt any one of the various proposed emendations; *on* is undoubtedly equivalent to *of*.

307. Line 36: *Then give me leave that I may TURN THE KEY.*—Holinshed (copying from Hall) says: "The earle of Rutland seeing in what danger he stood, tooke his horse and rode another wale to Windsor in post, so that he got thither before his father, and when he was alighted at the castell gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saving that he must needs *deliuer the keyes* to the king" (vol. iii. p. 10).

308. Line 61: *sheer.*—Compare Spenser's Fairy Queen, bk. iii. canto 2, at 44:

*Who having viewed in a fountain shere
Her face.*

We still call thin transparent muslin *sheer* muslin.

309. Line 80: *And now chang'd to "The Beggar and the King."*—Referring to the ballad of King Cophetua. See Love's Labour's Lost, note 24. In Johnson's Garland of Roses, 1612, the ballad is called simply A Song of a Beggar and a King; and in Cynthia's Revenge by J. S. it is alluded to as:

The story of a Beggar and the King

310. Lines 87–146.—I believe that the whole of the latter part of this scene is taken, almost entirely, from some old play, and contains scarcely a line written by Shakespeare; or, if his, it must be some of his very earliest work.

311. Line 93: *For ever will I WALK upon my knees.*—Ff. and Q. 5 read *kneel*, which is very weak; all the four earlier Quartos have *walk*. At the Santa Scala, outside the Basilica of the Lateran, may be seen the marks of the pilgrim's knees which have worn away the stone; and at Canterbury Cathedral, on a lesser scale, may be seen the same proof of how the pious of old literally *walked* upon their *knees*; so that the expression is quite intelligible.

312. Line 101: *His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are jest.*—Qq. and Ff. have:

His eyes do drop no tears, his prayers are in jest.

Following Capell, we have omitted *in*.

313. Lines 109, 110.—Both these lines end in *have*; but probably it was an oversight. The substitution of *crave*, in either case, as has been proposed by Pope and Walker, seems to weaken the sense.

314. Line 119: *say, "pardon-me moy"*—i.e. excuse me, a polite way of saying "No." The whole speech is wretched stuff. That *moy* was pronounced *moy*, as it is written in all the old copies, is evident from this passage. Compare Henry V. iv. 4. 14:

Moy shall not serve; I will have forty moys.

315. Line 137: *But for our trusty BROTHER-IN-LAW, and the ABBOT.*—The brother-in-law was John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon, uterine brother of Richard II., created

Duke of Exeter in 1397. He had married Henry's sister, Elizabeth. He was degraded from his dukedom in Henry IV.'s first parliament at the same time that Aumerle was degraded to Earl of Rutland. (See above, note 296.) For the ABBOT, see above, note 19.

316. Line 144: *Uncle, farewell:—and, cousin MINE, adieu.*—All Qq. but Q. 5 and Ff. print the line:

Uncle farewell: and cousin adieu.

The Camb. Edd. suggest that the line may be amended thus:

Uncle, farewell; farewell, aunt; cousin, adieu.

They say: "it seems only consonant with good manners that the king should take leave of his aunt as well as of the others. There is a propriety too in his using a colder form of leave-taking to his guilty cousin than to his uncle and aunt" (p. 230). But "cousin mine," like "trusty brother-in-law" (above, line 137), may be said in an ironical tone. I had inserted *mine* in the margin of the text before I found that it was the reading of Collier's MS. Corrector.

ACT V. SCENE 4.

317. Line 1.—The account of Richard's death, adopted by Shakespeare, rests on very doubtful authority. Holinshed copied it from Hall, and Hall from Fabyan. According to Rolfe, it was related by Caxton in his addition to Hygden's *Polychronicon*; according to Staunton, Holinshed's authority was Abraham Fleming. According to the account in Holinshed, the words of Henry were overheard when he was "sitting on a daie at his table."

ACT V. SCENE 5.

318. Lines 13, 14:
and do set the word itself
Against the word.

The meaning of the phrase is "set one passage of the Bible against another." Ff. Q. 5 substitute *faith* for *word*, probably with a fear of James the First's edict against blasphemy before their eyes. The passages from the New Testament referred to in the following lines are from St. Matthew xix. 14; xl. 28; xix. 24.

319. Line 17: *To thread the POSTERN of a NEEDLE'S eye.*
—Q. 1, Q. 2 read:

To thread the postern of a *small* needle's eye;

while Q. 2, Q. 4 read:

To thread the *small* postern of a *small* needle's eye.

The discrepancy seems to show that the poet had written the word *small* and afterwards struck it out. Dyce reads "*small needl's* eye;" there is no doubt *needle* was often written *needl*, and pronounced as a monosyllable; but the reading adopted in the text is that of Ff. Q. 5, and certainly furnishes the most harmonious line. "A *postern* is the back-gate of a fortress, and generally therefore low and narrow. It has been said by some commentators that by the 'needle's eye,' in the above-quoted passage from the Gospel, is intended the narrow gate of an eastern town so called, which was only wide enough to admit foot passengers. This interpretation Shakespeare had probably heard of, and combined it with the

more common and obvious one which explains the phrase as hyperbolic and expressive of anything which is impossible" (Clarendon Press Edn. pp. 152, 153).

320. Lines 50-54:

*For now hath time made me his numbering clock:
My thoughts are minutes; and with sighs they jar
Their watches on unto mine eyes, the outward watch,
Whereto my finger, like a dial's point,
Is pointing still, in cleansing them from tears.*

His numbering clock, according to the Clarendon Press Edd. means: "the clock by which he counts hours and minutes, which he could not do with his hour-glass" (p. 158). For *jar*=tick, compare Winter's Tale, i. 2. 43, 44:

I love thee not a *jar* o' the clock behind
What lady she her lord.

The *outward watch*, Steevens explains, was "the movable figure of a man habited like a watchman, with a pole and lantern in his hand. The figure had the word *watch* written on its forehead, and was placed above the dial-plate" (Var. Ed. p. 164), and he quotes from Churchyard's *Charitie*, 1595:

The clocke will strike in haste, I heare the *watch*
That sounds the bell.

The passage, which is a very difficult one to understand, is best explained by Henley's note (quoted by nearly all editors): "there appears to be no reason for supposing with Dr. Johnson that this passage is corrupt. It should be recollected that there are three ways in which a clock notices the progress of time, viz. by the vibration of the pendulum, the index on the dial, and the striking of the hour. To these the king in his comparison severally alludes, his sighs corresponding to the jarring of the pendulum, which at the same time that it watches or numbers the seconds, marks also their progress in minutes on the dial or outward watch, to which the king compares his eyes; and their want of figures is supplied by a succession of tears, or (to use an expression of Milton) *minute drops*; his finger, by as regularly wiping these away, performs the office of the dial's point; his clamorous groans are the sounds that tell the hour. In King Henry IV. part ii. *tears* are used in a similar manner:

But Harry lives, that shall convert those *tears*,
By number, into *hours* of happiness.

—Var. Ed. vol. xvi. pp. 164, 165.

321. Line 60: *his JACK O' THE CLOCK.*—Alluding to one of those little mechanical figures, in iron or bronze, which, in old clocks, struck the bell at every quarter of the hour. These figures were called *Jacks o' the clock*, or *Jacks o' th' Clock-house*. Probably the name *Jack* was suggested by the *Jacks*, or *keys*, of the virginals.

322. Lines 67, 68:

Groom. *Hail, ROYAL princes!*

K. Rich.

Thanks, NOBLE peer;

The cheapest of us is ten groats too dear.

This very poor pun was borrowed from a pun by Queen Elizabeth: "Mr. John Blower, in a sermon before her majesty, first said: 'My royal Queen,' and a little after: 'My noble Queen.' Upon which says the Queen: 'What, am I ten groats worse than I was?'" (Clarendon Press Edn. p. 155). A *royal* or real was worth ten shillings, a

noble six shillings and eight pence, and a *groat*=four pence; so that the difference between a *royal* and a *noble* is ten *groats*.

323. Line 78: *roan Barbary*.—The horse is, apparently, an invention of Shakespeare's. No mention is made of it in any of the chronicles. But Froissart (chap. cxii.) has a story of a favourite greyhound which deserted its master, Richard, and leaped on his rival.

324. Lines 81-84.—The idea of sympathy between horse and rider may have been suggested to Shakespeare by the following passage in the Egerton MS. play (act i.), if the latter really was written before Shakespeare's:

King. but, noble vncle,
I did obserue, what I have wonderd att,
As we to day rodd on to Westminster;
We thought your horse, that wout to tread the ground,
And pace as if he kickt it scornfully,
Mount and curvett, like strong Iusepholus;
To day he trod as slowe and melancholly
As if his leggs had fayld to beare his load.
Woodstock. And can ye blame the beaste? Afore my god,
He was not wont to beare such loads indeed;
A hundred oakes vpon these shoulders hange
To make me braue vpon your wedding day

—Reprint, p. 15

325. Line 94: *SPURR'D, GALL'D, and TIR'D* by JAUNTING *Bolingbroke*.—Ff. Q. 5 read *spur gall'd*. The reading in the text is that (substantially) of Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4. It is very probable that, in this case, the Folios are right. Cotgrave explains: "*Jancer en cheval*. To stirre a horse in the stable till he be swart with all; or (as our) to *jaunt*; (an old word)." *Jaunting* occurs in Rom. and Jul. ii. 5. 58:

To catch my death with *jaunting* up and down.

There Q. 3, Q. 4 have *jaunting*, and it is evidently the same word. In this passage all the Qs, and Ff have *jaunting*. The word does not occur elsewhere in Shakespeare. It might appear that *tir'd* (*tirde* in Q. 1, *tyr'd* in F. 1) was the same word as that used in Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 2. 130 (see note 101 of that play); but *tire*, whether used in the sense of "to dress," or "to weary," is indifferently spelt *tyre* in F. 1; and "wearyed," or "fatigued," makes here the better sense. Compare the following line in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Mad Lover* (v. 3):

Plague o' your *spur-galled* conscience! does it *tire* now?

—Works, vol. i. p. 307.

326. Lines 99-104.—Holinshed's account of this incident is as follows: "This knight incontinentlie departed from the court, with eight strong persons in his companie, and came to Pomfret, commanding the esquier that was accustomed to sew and take the assaile before king Richard, to doo so no more, saleng; 'Let him ent now, for he shall not long eat.' King Richard sat downe to dinner, and was scrued without courtesie or assaile, wherevpon much maruelling at the sudden change, he demanded of the esquier whie he did not his dutie: 'Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by Sir Piers of Exton, which is newlie come from K. Henrie.' When king Richard heard that word, he tooke the keruing knife in his hand, and strake the esquier on the head, saleng The duell take Henrie of Lancaster and thee together" (vol. iii. p. 14).

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327. Line 106: *WHAT MEANS death in this rude assault?*—Staunton proposes: "*What! mean'st death in this rude assault?*" which certainly makes better sense. The passage is very obscure; it may mean, "What is the meaning of such an attempt upon my life in such a *rude assault*?" but I confess it is not easy to make any sense of it. *Death* is spelt with a capital both in Q. 1 and F. 1 in this line, and with a small *d* in the next line; otherwise one might suspect the word *death* had slipped up here from the line below. It may be that the poet's idea was that Richard had been expecting *Death* for some time, and was now surprised to see it come in so *rude* a shape.

ACT V. SCENE 6.

328. Lines 2, 3:

*the rebels have consum'd with fire
Our town of Cicester in Glostershire.*

From the account given by Holinshed it appears the rebel lords were in two different inns in Cirencester, and their army lay outside the town; that the Earl of Kent and the Earl of Salisbury, in one inn, were besieged by the "balliffe of the town with fourscore archers;" the Earl of Huntingdon and Lord Spenser, being in another inn, "set fire on diuerse houses in the towne, thinking that the assailants would leane the assault and rescue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded" (vol. iii. p. 11). But the effect of this manœuvre was unfortunate for the rebels, since their army, seeing the fire, thought King Henry's army had arrived, and "fled without measure," leaving their chiefs to shift for themselves.

329. Line 8: *The heads of Salisbury, Spencer, Blunt, and Kent*—So Ff. Q. 5. The four first Quartos read "of Oxford, Salisbury;" an evident slip of the pen on the writer's part. The town of Oxford is frequently mentioned in connection with the conspiracy, and Shakespeare may have written the name by mistake for one of the conspirators; but there is no need to perpetuate the error.

330. Line 14: *The heads of Brocas, and Sir Bennet Seely*.—Holinshed says: "Mante other that were prique to this conspracie, were taken, and put to death, some at Oxford, as sir Thomas Blunt, sir Benet Cille knight, and Thomas Winter's esquier; but sir Leonard Brokas, and sir John Shellie knights, John Maudelen, and William Ferbie chapeleins, were drawne, hanged, and beheaded at London" (vol. iii. p. 13).

331. Line 25: *Chose out some secret place, &c.*—Holinshed says: "The Bishop of Carleill was impeached, and condemned of the same conspracie; but the king of his mercifull clemencie, pardoned him of that offense, although he died shortly after, more through feare than force of sicknesse, as some haue written" (vol. iii. p. 13).

332. Line 30.—"After he (Richard) was thus dead, his bodie was imbalmed, and seered, and covered with lead, all saue the face, to the intent that all men might see him, and perceiue that he was departed this life: for as the corps was conueled from Pomfret to London, in all the townes and places where those that had the conuelance of it did stae with it all night, they caused dirge to be soong in the euening, and masse of requiem in the

morning; and as well after the one service as the other, his face discovered, was showed to all that courted to behold it" (Holinshed, vol. iii. p. 14).

333. Line 43: THROUGH the SHADES of night.—Q. 1 omits *the*; the other old copies read *through the shade*. The Cambridge Ed. print *through*; but Q. 1 has *through*

distinctly. The form *thorough* occurs in *Mids. Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 3: "*thorough bush, thorough brier*."

334. Line 52: *In weeping OVER this untimely bier*.—Qq. and Ff. all read, "In weeping after;" but it is most probable the *after* was repeated by mistake from the line above. The emendation is Pope's.

ORIGINAL EMENDATIONS ADOPTED.

Note

35. i. 1. 58, 59:

*Setting aside his high blood's royalty,—
And let him be no kinsman to my liege,—*

69. i. 3. 83: *Rouse up thy youthful blood, be valiant, live!*
144. ii. 1. 283, 284:

*Sir Thomas Erpingham, Sir THOMAS Ramston,
John Norbury, Robert Waterton, and Francis COINT.*

160. ii. 2. 92, 93:

*My lord, I had forgot
To tell your lordship; I CAME BY TO-DAY, and call'd
there;—*

162. ii. 2. 108-120: Printed as prose.

177. ii. 3. 69, 70:

*Berk. My Lord of Hereford, my message is
To you—
Boling. [Interrupting angrily] My answer is—to Lancaster.*

Note

222. iii. 2. 175-177:

*I live with bread like you, LIKE YOU feel want,
LIKE YOU taste grief, need friends: subjected thus,
How can you say to me, I am a king?*

225. iii. 3. 17-19:

*Lest you mistake: the heavens are o'er YOUR head.
Boling. I know it, uncle, and DARE NOT OPPOSE
Myself against their will.—But who comes here?*

226. iii. 3. 20: WHAT, Harry? WELCOME.

249. iii. 4. 73, 74:

*THOU,—
[She pauses, as if half-choked by her emotion]
Old Adam's likeness, set to dress this garden,
HOW DARES
Thy harsh rude tongue sound this unpleasant news?*

310. v. 5. 144: *Uncle, farewell:—and, cousin MINE, adieu.*
So Collier.

ORIGINAL EMENDATIONS SUGGESTED.

Note

58. i. 2. 73: *Desolate, AH! desolate.*

142. ii. 1. 277, 278:

*I have from MORBIHAN, a bay
In Brittany.*

Note

171. ii. 3. 21, 22:

*It is my son, young Harry Percy, sent
From WORCESTER, MY BROTHER, whencesoever.*

174. ii. 3. 55: *And in it are the Lords York, Berkley,
Seymour.*

WORDS OCCURRING ONLY IN KING RICHARD II.

NOTE.—The addition of sub., adj., verb, adv. in brackets immediately after a word indicates that the word is used as a substantive, adjective, verb, or adverb only in the passage or passages cited.

The compound words marked with an asterisk (*) are printed in F. 1 as two separate words.

	Act Sc. Line		Act Sc. Line		Act Sc. Line		Act Sc. Line
Abstains ¹	ii. 1. 76	*Attorneys-general	ii. 1. 203	Broad-spreading	iii. 4. 50	Conveyers.....	iv. 1. 317
Administer.....	i. 3. 182	Bay-trees.....	ii. 4. 8	Burthenous....	ii. 1. 260	Craftsmen.....	i. 4. 28
All-hating.....	v. 5. 60	Bedrench.....	iii. 3. 46	Care-tuned....	iii. 2. 92	Crossly.....	ii. 4. 24
Almsman.....	iii. 3. 149	Beggar-fear....	i. 1. 189	Chambered....	i. 1. 149	Daintiness.....	v. 5. 45
Appeal ¹	i. 1. 0	Benevolences ² .	ii. 1. 250	Chivalrous....	i. 1. 81	Dangling.....	iii. 4. 29
	i. 1. 27	Blanks ⁴	ii. 1. 250	Cloister ⁶ (verb)	v. 1. 23	*Daring-hardy	i. 3. 43
	i. 3. 21	Blindfold ⁵	i. 3. 224	Complain ⁷ (refl.)	i. 4. 42	*Demi-paradise ⁸	ii. 1. 42
Apprenticeshood	i. 3. 271	Bray (sub.)....	i. 3. 135	Complot (verb)	i. 1. 96		
					i. 3. 189		

¹ Lucrece, 130. (Used there without the preposition from.)

² = to impeach; the participle appealed=impeached, i. 1. 142.

³ In fiscal sense. See note 137.

⁴ i.e. blank charters.

⁵ Venus and Adonis, 554.

⁶ Lucrece, 1085.

⁷ Lucrece, 595, 645.

⁸ In Qq. and F. 1 printed as two words; *demy*, or *demie*, being treated as an adj. But in England's Parnassus (1600), where this passage is quoted, the word is printed *demi-paradise*.

WORDS PECULIAR TO KING RICHARD II.

	Act Sc. Line		Act Sc. Line		Act Sc. Line		Act Sc. Line
Depressed.....	iii. 1	Imp (verb)....	ii. 1 232	Plume-plucked	iv. 1 108	Time-bewasted	i. 3 221
Determinate(verb) i.	150	Imprese.....	iii. 1 25	Portcullised...	i. 3 167	Time-honoured	i. 1 1
Disburdened ..	ii. 1 229	Inhabitable....	i. 1 66	Proportionable	ii. 2 125	Tormentors....	ii. 1 136
Discomfortable	iii. 2 36	Intermixed ¹⁶ ..	v. 5 12	Pupil-like	v. 1 31		
Disorderly	ii. 2 110					Unbegot ²³	iii. 3 88
Disparked.....	iii. 1 23	Justs (sub.)....	v. 2 52	Refuge (verb)..	v. 5 26	Unbroke	iv. 1 215
Distaff-women	iii. 2 118	Knightly (adv.)	i. 3 12	Regenerate (adj.)	i. 3 70	Uncontrolled ²⁴	i. 3 90
*Double-fatal..	iii. 2 117				i. 3 67	Uncurse	iii. 2 137
Drunkenly	ii. 1 127	Lean-looked...	ii. 4 11	Regreet (verb).	i. 3 142	Undeaf	ii. 1 16
		Lean-witted...	ii. 1 115		i. 3 186	Undeck.....	iv. 1 250
Eagle-winged..	i. 3 129	Lensed	ii. 1 59	Resignation...	iv. 1 179	Unhappied....	iii. 1 10
Enguiled.....	i. 3 106	Lie-giver	iv. 1 68	Restful ²⁰	iv. 1 12	Unhorse.....	v. 3 19
		Life-harming..	ii. 2 3	Right-drawn...	i. 1 46		iv. 1 220
Falter ⁹	iii. 2 26			Rival-hating ..	i. 3 131	Unkinged.....	v. 5 37
Farm ¹⁰ (verb)...	i. 4 45	Maid-pale.....	iii. 3 98	Rug-headed...	ii. 1 156	Unpleased....	iii. 3 193
Farm ¹¹ (lease)...	ii. 1 256	Make-peace....	i. 1 160			Unrestrained..	v. 3 7
*Fly-slow ¹²	i. 3 150	Manual ¹⁷	iv. 1 25	Sea-walled	iii. 4 43	Unrightful ...	v. 1 68
Frequent ¹⁴ (intran.)v.	3 6	Magoverned ..	v. 2 5	Self-affrighted.	iii. 2 53	Unstooping...	i. 1 121
Gaunt.....	ii. 1 74	Moat.....	ii. 1 48	Self-born	ii. 3 80	Unstringed...	i. 3 162
Glazed ¹⁴	ii. 2 16	Monarchize....	iii. 2 165	Self-mould ...	i. 2 28	Unthriffs ²⁵ ...	ii. 3 122
Grassy	iii. 3 50			Shrill-voiced ..	v. 3 75	Untrodden ²⁶ ..	i. 2 69
Hairless ¹⁵	iii. 2 112	Nearness ¹⁸	i. 1 119	Sickliness	ii. 1 142	Upstart (adj.).	ii. 3 122
*Harsh-resound-			ii. 2 127	Sky-aspiring...	i. 3 130		
ing.....	i. 3 135	Neuter.....	ii. 3 159	*Soon-believing	i. 1 101	Vauntingly....	iv. 1 39
Heavy-gaited..	iii. 2 15	Never-quenching	v. 5 109	Sparkles (sub.)	v. 3 21		
*High-stomached	i. 1 18	Noblesse	iv. 1 110	Sprightlyfully...	i. 3 3	*Walking-staff ²⁷	151
		Oil-dried	i. 3 221	Staggers ²¹	v. 5 110	Well-disposed..	206
Ill-erected ...	v. 1 2	Out-pray	v. 3 109	*Still-breeding	v. 5 8	*Well-graced..	24
Imagery.....	v. 2 16	Oyster-wench..	i. 4 31	Stringless	ii. 1 149	*Well-meaning	128
				Sullens (sub.).	ii. 1 130	Whencesoever.	22
		Partialize.....	i. 1 120	Taxes (sub) ²² ..	ii. 1 246	Wistly ²⁸	7
		Party-verdict..	i. 3 234	Tender-hearted	iii. 3 160	Wrath-kindled	i. 152
		Pines ¹⁹	v. 1 77				

⁹ Lucrece, 1768.

¹⁰ In the sense of to let on lease.

¹¹ In the expression "in farm."

¹² The reading of F. 3. All the other old copies (Qq. and F. 1, F. 3, F. 4) read (substantially) . . y slow.

¹³ Used transitively, Timon, i. 1. 117; Pericles, iv. 6. 102.

¹⁴ Sonn. xxiv. 8; Lover's Complaint, 286.

¹⁵ Venus and Adonis, 487.

¹⁶ Sonn. ci. 8.

¹⁷ Venus and Adonis, 516.

¹⁸ In this passage F. 1 has nearness hyphenated with the preceding word neighbors.

¹⁹ As a transitive verb; so used in Venus and Adonis, 603; but nowhere else by Shakespeare.

²⁰ Sonn. lxxvi. 1.

²¹ Used transitively in the sense of "to make to reel;" used in sense of "to make to hesitate," "to bewilder," Henry VIII. ii. 4. 212.

²² Used, in fiscal sense, only in this passage. The verb occurs frequently.

²³ Unbegotten occurs in King John, iv. 3. 54.

²⁴ Venus and Adonis, 104; Lucrece, 645.

²⁵ Sonn. ix. 9; xiii. 13.

²⁶ Untrod occurs in Julius Caesar, iii. 1. 136.

²⁷ Not hyphenated in old copies. ²⁸ Venus and Adonis, 342; Lucrece, 1365; Pilgrim, 82.

KING RICHARD III.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

KING EDWARD THE FOURTH.

EDWARD, Prince of Wales, afterwards
 King Edward V.,
 RICHARD, Duke of York,
 GEORGE, Duke of Clarence,
 RICHARD, Duke of Gloster, afterwards
 King Richard III.,
 A Young Son of Clarence.
 HENRY, Earl of Richmond, afterwards King
 Henry VII.
 CARDINAL BOURCHIER, Archbishop of Canter-
 bury.
 THOMAS ROTHERHAM, Archbishop of York.
 JOHN MORTON, Bishop of Ely.
 DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.
 DUKE OF NORFOLK
 EARL OF SURREY, his son.
 EARL RIVERS, brother to King Edward's Queen.
 MARQUESS OF DORSET and LORD GREY, her sons.
 EARL OF OXFORD.
 LORD HASTINGS.
 LORD STANLEY.

LORD LOVEL.

SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN.
 SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF.
 SIR WILLIAM CATESBY.
 SIR JAMES TYRREL.
 SIR JAMES BLUNT.
 SIR WALTER HERBERT.
 SIR ROBERT BRAKENBURY, lieutenant of the Tower.
 CHRISTOPHER URSWICK, a Priest. Another Priest.
 Lord Mayor of London. Sheriff of Wiltshire.
 TRESSEL and BERKELEY, attending on Lady Anne.
 Ghost of King Henry VI., Prince Edward, his son,
 and others.
 ELIZABETH, Queen to King Edward IV.
 MARGARET, widow of King Henry VI.
 DUCHESS OF YORK, mother to King Edward IV.,
 Clarence, and Gloster.
 LADY ANNE, widow of Edward, Prince of Wales,
 son to King Henry VI.; afterwards married to
 Richard, Duke of Gloster.
 A Young Daughter of Clarence.

Lords and other Attendants; a Pursuivant, Scrivener, Citizens, Murderers, Messengers, Soldiers, &c.

SCENE—In various parts of England.

TIME OF ACTION.

The time of this play, according to Daniel, occupies eleven days, with intervals.

Day 1: Act I. Scenes 1 and 2.—Interval
 Day 2: Act I. Scenes 3 and 4; Act II. Scenes 1 and 2.
 Day 3: Act II. Scene 3.—Interval.
 Day 4: Act II. Scene 4.
 Day 5: Act III. Scene 1.
 Day 6: Act III. Scenes 2-7.

Day 7: Act IV. Scene 1.
 Day 8: Act IV. Scenes 2-5.—Interval.
 Day 9: Act V. Scene 1.—Interval.
 Day 10: Act V. Scene 2 and first half of Scene 3.
 Day 11: Act V. second half of Scene 3 and Scenes
 4 and 5.

HISTORIC DATES.—The dead body of Henry VI. exposed to public view in St Paul's, 22nd May, 1471. Marriage of Richard with Anne, 1472. Death of Clarence, beginning of 1478. Death of Edward IV., 9th April, 1483. Rivers and Grey arrested, 30th April, 1483. Hastings executed, 13th June, 1483. Rivers, Grey, and Vaughan executed, 15th June, 1483. Buckingham harangues the citizens in Guild-hall, 24th June, 1483. Lord Mayor and citizens offer Richard the crown, 25th June; he is declared king at Westminster Hall, 26th June; and crowned, 6th July, 1483. Buckingham executed, October, 1483. Death of Queen Anne, 16th March, 1485. Henry VII. lands at Milford Haven, 7th August, 1485. Battle of Bosworth Field, 22nd August, 1485.

KING RICHARD III.

INTRODUCTION.

LITERARY HISTORY.

Of this play there are more editions printed before 1640 than of any other play of Shakespeare's. As in the case of I. Henry IV., six Quarto editions appeared before the publication of the first Folio in 1623. The first Quarto was printed in 1597, and entitled:

The Tragedy of | King Richard the third. | Containing, | His treacherous Plots against his brother Clarence: | the pittiefull murder of his innocent nephewes: | his tyrannicall vsurpation: with the whole course | of his detested life, and most deserued death. | As it hath beene lately Acted by the | Right honourable the Lord Chamber- | laine his seruants. | AT LONDON | Printed by Valentine Sims, for Andrew Wise, | dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the | Sign of the Angell. | 1597. | The next Quarto appeared in 1598; the title-page is substantially the same, except that the name of the author ("By William Shakespeare") was added, and that it was printed by Thomas Creede for the same publisher. The third Quarto was printed in 1602. On the title-page of this edition we find "Newly augmented;" but this statement is not founded on fact, as no additions were made. It was reprinted from the second Quarto by the same printer for the same publisher; and the only additions to be found in it are some additional errors of the press. The fourth Quarto was printed in 1605 from the third, with the same title-page, except that it was printed for "Mathew | Lawe, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Signe | of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1605. |" and not for Andrew Wise. A copy of this Quarto was sold at Sotheby's in 1905 for £1750 (a record price for a Shakespeare Quarto). Only two others are known to be extant. This was one

of several Shakespearean Quartos sent to Sotheby's for sale at the same time, and long in the possession of the Herbert and Carrington families in Great Missenden. The fifth Quarto, which has on the title-page: "| As it hath beene lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties | seruants. |" was printed in 1612 not from Q. 4 but from Q. 3, by the same printer and for the same bookseller as the last edition. The sixth Quarto was published in 1622, the title-page being the same as that of Q. 5, except that it was printed by Thomas Purfoot for the same publisher, Matthew Lawe. It was edited in facsimile by Mr. P. A. Daniel, for Dr. Furnivall's Shakspeare Quarto Facsimiles. Another edition, Q. 7, was printed in 1629; the text was taken, not from F. 1, but from Q. 6. "It was printed by John Norton for Matthew Lawe. Except in the name of the printer, and the substitution of the word 'tiranous' for 'tyrannical,' the title-page does not differ from that of Q. 6". The eighth and last Quarto is a mere reprint of Q. 7, and was printed by John Norton in 1634. "There is no bookseller's name on the title-page, if we may trust that which Capell has supplied in MS. 'from a copy in the possession of Messrs. Tonsons and Draper.'"

The differences and discrepancies between the two principal authentic texts, viz. Q. 1 and F. 1, are so numerous, and so bewildering in their variety and character, that the attempt to piece together from these discordant authorities a text, which shall approach as closely as possible to what Shakespeare intended his amended text to be, is enough to fill any editor with despair. Various theories have been started to account for the utter want of agreement between Q. 1 and F. 1; but none of them furnish any satisfactory solution of the mystery. The theory of the

Cambridge editors is so ingeniously devised, and so carefully worked out, that in justice to them we must quote it at length:

"The following scheme will best explain the theory which we submit as a not impossible way of accounting for the phenomena of the text:

A ₁	A ₂	MS. B ₁ is a transcript by another hand with some accidental omissions and, of course, slips of the pen. From this transcript was printed the Quarto of 1597, Q 1. A ₂ is the author's original MS. revised by himself, with corrections and additions, interlinear, marginal, and on inserted leaves.
B ₁	B ₂	
Q ₁		

B 2 is a copy of the revised MS., made by another hand, probably after the death of the author, and perhaps a very short time before 1623. As the stage directions of the Folio, which was printed from B 2, are more precise and ample as a rule than those of the Quarto, we may infer that the transcript, B 2, was made for the library of the theatre, perhaps to take the place of the original which had become worn by use, for *Richard III.* continued to be a popular acting play. Some curious, though not frequent, coincidences between the text of the Folio and that of the Quarto of 1602, Q 3, lead us to suppose that the writer of B 2, had occasionally recourse to that Quarto to supplement passages which, by its being frayed or stained, had become illegible in A 2." They go on to say: "Assuming the truth of this hypothesis, the object of an Editor must be to give in the text as near an approximation as possible to A,¹ rejecting from F 1 all that is due to the unknown writer of B 2 and supplying its place from Q 1, which, errors of pen and press apart, certainly came from the hand of Shakespeare. In the construction of our text we have steadily borne this principle in mind, only deviating from it in a few instances where we have retained the expanded version of the Folio in preference to the briefer version of the Quarto, even when

we incline to think that the earlier form is more terse and therefore not likely to have been altered by its Author. Our reason is this: as the Folio version contains substantially that of the Quarto and as the question does not admit of a positive decision we prefer the risk of putting in something which Shakespeare did not to that of leaving out something which he did write. *Cæteris paribus* we have adopted the reading of the Quarto."

The conclusion thus arrived at seems rather inconsistent with the facts advanced in their theory; since what an editor should aim at is to make the text as nearly as possible identical with A 2, which, according to the theory of the Cambridge editors, was Shakespeare's *own revision of his original text*. We have therefore based our text upon that of F. 1, only adopting such readings from Q. 1 as the sense, or metre may seem to require. There is no reason to suppose, from what we know of Shakespeare's natural objection to have his plays printed, as long as the acting right was vested in his own company, that Q. 1 was, in this case, an *authorized* transcript from his original text; and we cannot agree with the Cambridge editors that any superiority possessed by either text is, on the whole, to be assigned to the Quarto rather than to the Folio.

It is much easier to find fault with the theories of others upon this difficult question than to propound any more satisfactory theory one's self. It is highly probable that it is owing to the very extraordinary popularity of this play that so many discrepancies are found between the text of Q. 1 and F. 1. The former must have been published within a comparatively short time after the first production of the play. It has already been observed that, from what we know of the history of the other Quartos, it is very improbable that the First Quarto of *Richard III.* was printed with the sanction or under the supervision of the author, and not from a copy obtained by more or less surreptitious means. It is evident that, whatever else it may be, Q. 1 could not have been the play as it was acted when Shakespeare was one of the leading members of the Lord Chamberlain's Company; that is to say, it was not the play as

¹ It is clearly so printed in my copy (Ed. 1864); but it may be a misprint for A₂.

INTRODUCTION.

finally revised by him. It is a very suspicious circumstance that the words "greatly augmented" should appear on the title-page of Q. 3, as there is nothing in the text to justify such a description; and it certainly looks as if the printer had been promised a copy of the play, *as revised by the author*, with the additions that he had made in the course of its successful career. In the case of *Romeo and Juliet* Q. 2 has upon its title-page "Newly corrected, augmented, and amended;" and it, undoubtedly, contains Shakespeare's own revisions, and is the chief authority for the text as now recognized. Also in the case of *Hamlet*, the surreptitiously printed Quarto of 1603 was more than usually defective; and Q. 2 (1604), which is the best and fullest text of the play we have, has upon its title-page "Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect copie."

With regard to the Cambridge editors, who, in their text, adhere with almost fanatical reverence to Q. 1 in the cases where the difference between it and F. 1 are unimportant, and, in some cases, where the advantage certainly seems to be with the latter: even they acknowledge that the text of F. 1 is very often preferable, and that it contains corrections and additions which must have been made by Shakespeare himself. How, then, are we to account for the fact which must be frankly admitted that, in some cases, the reading of F. 1 is manifestly wrong, and that in many of these cases we are able to correct the mistake by the aid of Q. 1? Some of these mistakes, of course, are mere errors of the transcriber of the MS. or of the printer. But a large balance remains which cannot be so explained. Unfortunately space does not allow us here to go into a minute analysis of the differences between Q. 1 and F. 1. In the case of one scene taken haphazard we have done so; but we must refer our readers to the late Mr. Spedding's admirable paper in the *New Shakspeare Society's Transactions*, 1875 (p. 1-75), with nearly all of which, especially the concluding paragraph, we most cordially agree. Mr. P. A. Daniel, in his *Introduction to the Facsimile Reprint of Q. 1*, has most patiently analysed the

differences between Q. 1-6 and F. 1; and he comes to the conclusion that F. 1 was printed from a copy of Q. 6, altered "in accordance with the theatrical MS. which the transcriber had before him." The arguments by which he reaches this conclusion are worthy of the closest attention, though we cannot agree with him on all points. But even he admits that an editor should take F. 1 "as the basis of his text."

We can only here suggest some facts which may partially explain the difficulty above mentioned. In order to form an idea of what a playhouse copy of a play was in the time of Shakespeare, one ought to see the MS. copy of some comedy acted by one of the travelling companies in Italy. The stage is, after all, a very conservative institution. Some fifteen or sixteen years ago, if not now, in Italy the theatre-copy of a play was, except for modern handwriting, quite as confused as the playhouse copy would be in the time of Shakespeare. The MS. is written on both sides of the paper, with only a narrow margin left, in which the stage-directions and the "calls" of the various actors are marked, exactly as we find them in the few old playhouse copies that remain to us of dramas acted in the seventeenth century. This one copy serves for the prompter and stage-manager, and from it all the parts have to be copied. It is easy to see how, in the course of the long career of a successful play which, if not acted many times in succession, would be frequently repeated at intervals, this MS. would get terribly damaged. Some of the leaves would have to be restored by the prompter, or by some copyist in the company; and it is possible that, in recopying these damaged sheets, certain lacunæ might have to be filled up from the actors' parts, or even from memory; and in this way, although the prompter may be supposed to have known nearly every line of the piece by heart, verbal errors might easily creep in; as they might also, in cases where some actor's part was used for reference, copied perhaps, in his own not too legible handwriting. It may be that some of the discrepancies in the text of Richard III. arose from the fact that the actors had made some

alterations without the sanction of the author, and, perhaps, during his temporary absence. Shakespeare assures us in *Hamlet* (iii. 2. 42-50) that he had a very great objection to what is technically known as "gagging." But everyone, who has had any practical experience of theatres, knows how difficult it is to prevent the actors either slightly changing the words of the text, or boldly inserting words of their own. Indeed the text of some plays of comparatively modern date, notably those of Sheridan, which have held the stage for some time, have suffered considerably from these unauthorized alterations. If we bear in mind these circumstances, and remember at the same time that Richard III. was, undoubtedly, one of Shakespeare's earliest plays, and had, perhaps, longer and more continued popularity than any other of his dramatic works; that it must have been revised and amended by him from time to time; and that these revisions and amendments were not to be obtained, *otherwise than surreptitiously*, by the printer of any of the Quartos, we shall cease to wonder at the very numerous discrepancies which occur between the texts of Q. 1 and F. 1. After examining the analysis of these discrepancies we must come to the conclusion, in the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, that the text published by the editor of F. 1 bears a closer resemblance to the real text of Shakespeare than the copy which the enterprising Mr. Andrew Wise managed to get hold of in the year 1597.

To sum up the suggestions here put forward:

(1) It will be seen, from what is said further on as to the date of this play, that it is uncertain how long before 1597 it was acted, but that it was one of Shakespeare's earliest plays. We know it to have been Shakespeare's custom to revise his earliest plays when he considered it worth the trouble. He revised and made additions to *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Romeo and Juliet*. We may therefore be pretty certain that, in the case of so popular a play as Richard III., he would revise and, perhaps, re-revise it. (2) Neither Q. 1 nor F. 1 represents the original play of Richard III.; but both represent amended versions; the alterations and additions, in both cases, having,

to a very great extent, been made by the author himself. (3) The publishers of the various Quartos before 1623 could not obtain the greater portion of the amendments and alterations made from time to time by the author. These were to be found only in the theatre-copy of the play—what we should call the stage-manager's copy—and F. 1 was, substantially, transcribed from this last copy with a few mistakes of the transcriber and of the printer. (4) The tattered condition into which the playhouse copy fell, owing to constant use, necessitating as it did portions of the MS. being recopied from time to time, accounts for some of the errors in F. 1.

As to the sources from which Shakespeare derived Richard III., it may be said that he owed nothing to the old play of *Richardus Tertius*, and very little if anything to *The True Tragedy of Richard III.* (See note 205.) For his historical material Shakespeare was indebted to Holinshed, who, in his turn, copied almost word for word from Hall; and he, on his part, "conveyed" the history of the greater part of the reign of Richard III. from that written by Sir Thomas More. We have, as a rule, given the quotations from the original source, viz. the last-mentioned history. Shakespeare himself appears to have used the second edition of Holinshed, as he has copied a mistake which occurs only in that edition. (See note 649.) He also, very probably, referred to *The Mirror for Magistrates*; but he does not seem to have derived thence any particular incidents or expressions.

What is supposed to be the earliest allusion to Richard III. occurs in a collection of epigrams by John Weever, the title-page of which says that it was "Printed by V. S. for Thomas Bushell, and are to be sold at his shop at the great north doore of Paules 1599." (See *Shakespeare Allusion-Books*, Pt. I. 1874, pp. 181, 182). This is described by the editor (*ut supra*, p. 181) as a *second* edition; but there is nothing to indicate this fact on the original title-page, nor is the existence of any earlier edition known. As Drake points out (vol. ii. p. 371): "The book in question, in the collection of Mr. Comb, of Henley, and supposed to be a unique, was published in 1599,

INTRODUCTION.

at which period, according to the date of the print of him prefixed by Cecil, the author was twenty-three years old; but Weever tells us, in some introductory stanzas, that when he wrote the poems which compose this volume, he was *not* twenty years old; that he was one

That twenty twelve months yet did *never* *know*,

consequently, these Epigrams *must have been written in 1595, though not printed before 1599.*" The epigram contains fourteen lines, of which we give the following:—

THE FOURTH WEEKE.

Epig. 22. Ad Gulielmum Shakespeare.

Honie-tong'd *Shakespeare*, when I saw thine issue,
I swore *Apollo* got them and none other,

Rose-checkt *Adonis* with his amber tresses,
Faire fire-hot *Venus* charming him to loue her,
Chaste *Lucretia* virgino-like her dresses,
Prowd lust-stung *Tarquine* seeking still to proue her;
Romea Richard; more, whose names I know not,
Their sugred tongues, and power attractiue beuty
Say they are Saints, although that Sts they shew not,
For thousands vowes to them subiectiue dutie.

It will be observed that this is no direct evidence of the fact of *Richard III.* having been played at this time; for though the allusion most probably is to that play, still it might be to *Richard II.* The first Quarto of this play was entered at Stationers' Hall, 20th October, 1597; while *Richard II.* was registered on 29th August of the same year. Another early reference to *Richard III.* has been pointed out by Simpson in his Introduction to *A Warning for Fair Women*. In the Introduction to that play Comedy has a speech beginning:

How some damn'd tyrant to obtain a crown
Stabs, hangs, impoisons, smothers, cutteth throats.
—Simpson's *School of Shakspeare*, vol. ii. p. 242.

This is the more curious, as occurring in a play acted by the company to which *Shakespeare* himself belonged, *viz.* The Lord Chamberlain's Servants. The *Warning to Fair Women* was printed in 1599. We do not know how long it had been acted before. As to other references, there are five quotations

from this play in *England's Parnassus*, 1600.¹

There are other contemporary allusions, but none which need be mentioned here.

As far then as direct external evidence goes, we know that this play must have been produced before 1597, or at least early in that year; the title-page of Q. 1 not containing any statement which implies that it had been acted for any length of time previous to its publication.

On the question of the date of this play Mr. Collier, in his *Bibliographical Account of English Literature* (vol. ii. pp. 262, 263), has pointed out an allusion which seems indirectly to show that *Shakespeare's* play of *Richard III.* was not in existence in 1593. The article is on a rare book, the title-page of which is "*LICIA | or | POEMES OF | LOVE, IN Honour of the admirable | and singular vertues of his Lady, | to the imitation of the best | Latin poets, and others. | Whereunto is added the Rising to the | Croune of RICHARD | the third.*" There are only two copies of this work known. It has been reprinted in *Grosart's Miscellanies of the Fuller's Worthies' Library* (vol. iii. pp. 76-145), and is by him attributed to *Giles Fletcher*, whether rightly or wrongly it is not for us here to inquire. There is no date on the title-page of the work; but the letter "to *Ladie Mollineux*," which precedes the poem, is dated 8th September, 1593. The poem on *Richard III.* by the same author (*ut supra*, pp. 146-159) is absolutely devoid of any poetic merit, and does not contain a single passage or phrase which would seem to have been suggested by *Shakespeare's* play. *Richard*, who is supposed to speak in his own person, complains that whereas *Shore's* wife, *Fair Rosamond* and *Elstred* (see *Lochrine*) have all had their sorrows treated on the stage, he and his reverse of fortune have been neglected. The first four lines are:

The Stage is set, for Stately matter fitte,
Three partes are past, which Prince-like acted were,
To play the fourth, requires a kingly witte,
Els shall my muse, their muses not come nere.

¹ Except in one passage, in which there is a mistake of the printer, these passages seem to be quoted from Q. 1 or Q. 2, though in two of the quotations there are important variations in the text from those both of Qq. and Fl.

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After speaking of the three heroines above mentioned, he says in the sixth stanza:

Nor weepe I now, as children that have lost,
But smyle to see the Poets of this age:
Like silly boates in shallowe rivers tost,
Loosing their paynes, and lacking still their wage,
To write of women, and of womens falles,
Who are too light, for to be fortunes balles.

He then goes on to relate his own reverse of fortune. Certainly this would seem to infer that the writer was not aware of any play on the subject of Richard III. then being acted on the stage; yet we know that the so-called True Tragedy of Richard III., published in 1594, was acted by "the Queenes Maiesties Players;" and it is generally supposed that this was an old play which was published on account of the then popularity of Shakespeare's play; a conjecture which would certainly imply that Shakespeare's play was acted early in 1594, if not in 1593. But it may be that the enterprising publisher of The True Tragedy of Richard III. brought out that somewhat effete work, because he heard that Shakespeare was preparing a play on the subject; or, again, it may have been published independently, or in consequence of the recent productions of the two last parts of Henry VI. We do not find in Henslowe's Diary any mention of a representation of Shakespeare's Richard III. or of any play of that name. It would appear that on 12th June, 1602 (p. 223), Henslowe lent £10 to "bengemy Johnstone, at the apoyntment of E. Alleyn and Wm. Birde, the 24 of June 1602, in earneste of a booke called Richard crockbacke." If Ben Jonson ever wrote this play it must have perished, for nothing is known of it. There is an undated entry in Chettle's handwriting, being a receipt for forty shillings "in earnest of the Booke of Shores, now newly to be written for the Earl of Worcesters players at the Rose" (p. 214). This must have been some time before the accession of James I. (see note 2, same page). On the 9th May, 1603, there is an entry of a loan "at the apoyntment of Thomas hewod" (Heywood) "and John Ducke unto harry Chettell in earneste of a playe wherein Shores wiffe is written." It is not known to what plays these two several entries

refer. Possibly Chettle assisted Heywood in revising his play^a of Edward IV. mentioned below. But we get no help from Henslowe's Diary in determining the date of Shakespeare's Richard III.

The internal evidences of the play itself, such as the long passages in *Στιχομυθία*, and the constant tendency to a bombastic style, certainly point to its having been written at an immature period of Shakespeare's career; but the metrical tests do not exactly tally with so early a date. However, it must be remembered that the play was undoubtedly revised, probably more than once, by the author. As has been said above, the present shape, in which we have it, is certainly not that in which it first left his hand.

Of plays on the same subject there were two Latin ones; one by Thomas Legge, acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, 1579, of which MS. copies existed in the University Library and in that of Emmanuel College; and another, on the same subject, which Halliwell describes as a poor imitation of this, by Henry Lacey, and which was acted at Trinity College, 1586. It is possible that Shakespeare knew little and troubled himself less about these two Latin plays. What attracted his attention to the subject was, probably, 'The True Tragedy of Richard III.' We may conclude that this had been played, more or less frequently, for two or three years before it was printed. The following is the title-page: "The True Tragedie of Richard the Thirde: Wherein is showne the death of Edward the fourth, with the smothering of the two yong Princes in the Tower: With a lamentable ende of Shores wife, an example for all wicked women. And lastly the coniunction and ioyning of the two noble Houses, Lancaster and Yorke. As it was playd by the Queenes Maiesties Players. London Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Newgate Market, neare Christ Church doore, 1594." About this play, already alluded to, nothing is known as to its authorship or stage-history. The most interesting play by one of Shakespeare's contemporaries, in which Richard III. figures as a character, is Hey-

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wood's Second Part of Edward IV. In this play Richard is by no means the hero; the tragical end of Jane Shore forming the principal subject in the pathetic description of whose death the author has foreshadowed the last scene of his best-known play, *A Woman Killed With Kindness*. Both parts of Heywood's Edward IV. should be read by all students of Shakespeare along with III. Henry VI. and Richard III. Heywood's play was printed in 1600, the title being "THE SECOND PART OF KING EDWARD THE FOURTH. Containing his journey into France, for the obtaining of his right there: The trecherous falsehood of the Duke of Burgundie and the Constable of France used against him, and his returne home againe. Likewise the prosecution of the historie of M. Shore and his faire wife | Concluding with the lamentable death of them | both." Both parts were published together, and, as is stated on the title-page, they had "diuers times beene publicquely played | by the Right Honourable the Earle of Derby his seruants," so that they probably must have been produced some time before that date: they could scarcely have preceded Richard III. There is no sign of either author having copied from the other; though, of course, interesting resemblances may be found between some of Richard's speeches in both plays.

The pieces in *The Mirror for Magistrates*,¹ before the period of this play, are, in *The Third Part* of that work, number 73, *George Plantagenet*, attributed to Baldwin; 74, *King Edward the Fourth*, by Skelton; 75, *Lord Rivers*, attributed to Baldwin; 76, *Lord Hastings*, by Dolman; 77, *The Complaynt of Henry Duke of Buckingham*, by Sackville; 79, *Richarde Plantagenet Duke of Gloucester*, by Segar; 84, *Shore's Wife*, by Churchyard; this last one was included in a collection of poems, 1593, called *Churchyard's Challenge*, and is the same poem that appeared in the original edition of *The Mirror for Magistrates*, augmented by twenty-one stanzas. By a curi-

ous mistake Stokes, in his *Chronological Order of Shakespeare's Plays*, refers to this as a play, and calls it *Churchyard's* (p. 29). Finally, there are two pieces in Pt. IV. by Richard Niccols: 95, *The lamentable lives and deaths of the two young Princes, Edward the fifth and his brother Richard Duke of York*; and 96, *The tragical life and death of King Richard the third*. These were written after the appearance of Shakespeare's play. The most interesting parallel passages in these poems and Richard III. will be found quoted in the notes.

There is rather a striking resemblance between a passage in Richard III.'s first soliloquy (i. 1. 12-15) and a poem included in the first issue of *Epigrammes and Elegies* by J. D. and C. M. and headed *Ignoto*:

I am not fashion'd for these amorous times,
To court thy beauty with lascivious rhymes;
I cannot dally, caper, dance, and sing,
Oiling my saint with supple sonnetting.
(See Dyce's Marlowe, 1876, p. 366.)

It may be remarked that this poem does not appear in the subsequent editions, which are both undated; but, on the authority of Ritson, the date of the first edition is generally assigned to 1596 (*ut supra*, Preface, p. xxxviii.). The resemblance is not very exact, but there is sufficient similarity of expression to suggest that the one author might have had the other's lines in his mind at the time. Perhaps this passage may be held by some to bear on the question whether this play is by the same authors as *The Contention* and *The True Tragedy*, and was only revised by Shakespeare. It would be interesting to analyse the language of Richard III., and to see how many peculiar or characteristic phrases and words are common to that play and to the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI. There are certainly passages in Richard III. which are suggestive of Marlowe's inflated style; but whether these passages were due simply to the fact of Shakespeare being, in the earlier part of his career, consciously or unconsciously, an imitator of the older dramatist, or whether they were due to Marlowe's open co-operation, we probably never shall know. If concordances could be made to the

¹ The numbers attached to the various pieces are taken from the reprint of this well-known work by Joseph Hazlewood, 1815, and will be found in vols. ii. and iii. respectively.

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works of the Elizabethan dramatists, they would be of infinite assistance in determining the question as to the supposed joint-authorship of some of Shakespeare's plays. For instance, if we find that in the Second and Third Parts of Henry VI. and in Richard III. there are many peculiar words used, and used only in these plays by Shakespeare, which words are also characteristic of, if not peculiar to Marlowe, it would be a considerable piece of presumptive evidence that he assisted Shakespeare in the composition of all three plays. Mr. P. A. Daniel has no doubt that this play was "not of Shakespeare's original composition, but the work of the author or authors of the Henry VI. series of plays; Shakespeare's part in this, as in those, being merely that of a reviser or rewriter." But until we have some very much stronger evidence than has yet been offered of the work of any other writer in this play, we shall not attempt to rob Shakespeare of the fame which belongs to the author of Richard III.

STAGE HISTORY.

Although so popular and so frequently acted, as this play must have been between 1595 and 1630, very little has come down to us with regard to the stage history of Richard III. during this period; but there are several contemporary allusions. How closely Burbage was associated with the part of Richard III. appears from the well-known passage in Bishop Corbet's *Iter Boreale* (written about 1618), in which he mentions that his host rode with him part of the way, on his journey from Nuneaton to Coventry, when they passed close to Bosworth Field:

See yee yon wood? There Richard lay,
With his whole army: Looke the other way,
And loe where Richmond in a bed of gorse
Encampt himselfe ore night, and all his force:
Upon this hill they mett. Why, he could tell
The inch where Richmond stood, when Richard fell:
Besides what of his knowledge he could say,
He had authenticke notice from the Play;
Which I might guesse, by's mustring up the ghosts,
And policyes, not incident to hosts;

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But chiefly by that one perspicuous thing,
Where he mistooke a player for a king.
For when he would have sayd, King Richard dyed,
And call'd—A horse! a horse!—he Burbidge cry'de.

In the journal of John Manningham, 1601, under date 2d February and 13th March, there is an anecdote—we cannot quote it here—in which Burbage is even more strongly identified with Richard III. In the Third Part of *The Return from Parnassus* (1601) Burbage (who is introduced as a character) says to Philomusus: "I like your face and the proportion of your body for *Richard* the 3. I pray M. *Phil.* let me see you act a little of it.

Phil. Now is the winter of our discontent,
Made glorious summer by the sonne of Yorke."
(Macray's Reprint, 1886, pp. 140, 141.)

The numerous quotations and imitations of the well-known line—

A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse

are given in note 655. The earliest absolute mention of the performance of the play is found in Sir Henry Herbert's *Diary*, in which it is stated that "Richarde the Thirde was acted by the K. players at St. James, wher the king and queene were present, it being the first play the queene sawe since her M.^{ty} delivery of the Duke of York. 1633."

As we have already said, there is no mention of this play in Henslowe, and none in Pepys. Betterton does not seem ever to have played Shakespeare's Richard III., though he represented the character of Richard III. in *The English Princess*, by Caryl, in 1667. In fact, we can find no record of the performance of this play till Cibber's hybrid composition was produced, when "it seems to have been printed without the names of the performers to the D. P." (Genest, vol. ii. p. 195). This version, to the eternal discredit of the national intelligence and taste, held the stage for over one hundred and fifty years.

It would be impossible to go through the list of the many celebrated actors who have, more or less, made their mark in the part of Richard. Among the most celebrated names are those of Quin, Ryan, Barry, Sheridan, Henderson, Kemble, and Kean. Garrick, as is well known, made his first appearance at Good-

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man's Fields in this character. The playbill is as follows: "October 19th 1741, | GOODMAN'S FIELDS. | At the Theatre in Goodman's Fields, this day will be performed, | *A CONCERT OF VOCAL & INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC*, | DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS, | * * * * | N.B. Between the Two Parts of the Concert will be presented an Historical Play, called the | *Life and Death of* | King RICHARD THE THIRD. | Containing the distresses of K. Henry VI. | The artful acquisition of the Crown by King Richard, | The Murder of Young King Edward V, and his Brother in the Tower, | The landing of the Earl of Richmond, | And the Death of King Richard in the memorable Battle of Bosworth Field, being the last that was fought between the Houses | of York and Lancaster; with many other true Historical Passages. | The Part of King Richard by A GENTLEMAN, | (who never appeared on any stage)." &c. &c. There is nothing to be astonished at that Garrick should prefer Cibber's *deformation* to the original play; but we cannot help regretting that Edmund Kean should have fallen into the same error of taste. It may be doubted whether any real Shakespearean part ever suited Garrick so well as the Cibberized Richard III.

On 27th May, 1776, at Drury Lane, Mrs. Siddons played Lady Anne for the first time. On 5th June of the same year Garrick acted Richard for the last time; Mrs. Siddons again representing Lady Anne, being her last performance that season.

Among the many performances of this play one or two are perhaps worth recording. On 1st April, 1810-11, Richard III. was played with John Kemble as Richard, and Charles Kemble as Richmond. John Kemble had revised Cibber's version; but, unfortunately, he had restored little if any of Shakespeare's text. On 12th June, 1813, Betty made his last appearance on the stage as Richard III. He was no longer a child, and seems to have lost his attraction for the public.

Richard III. was one of Kean's most popular impersonations; but it may be doubted whether his greatest qualities were so forcibly displayed in this character as in Othello,

Hamlet, or Lear. On 12th March, 1821, at Covent Garden, a memorable attempt was made to restore to the stage Shakespeare's play of Richard III. For this version Macready was probably responsible. Genest says (vol. ix. p. 107) that "the first two acts went off with great applause;" but, on the whole, the piece was received coldly by the audience, and was only repeated once, on the 19th of the same month, and then laid aside. Macready played Richard; Yates, Buckingham; Abbott, Richmond; and Egerton, Clarence, who, with Mrs. Faucit as Queen Margaret, seems to have made the greatest success in the piece. On the 29th January, 1877, fortunately for those, to whom the true interests of dramatic art and the name of Shakespeare are dear, Richard III., "arranged for the Stage exclusively from the author's text," was produced at the Lyceum Theatre. This is not the place to speak of the chorus of approval with which this restoration of Shakespeare's text was received. Even those who were not in any way admirers of Mr. Irving had nothing but praise for his Richard; while the audience saw that the text of Shakespeare, properly abbreviated and arranged, formed a much more dramatic play than Cibber's alteration. Among representations interesting as belonging to recent years we may mention those of Thomas King and Barry Sullivan — able, if conventional, — Charles Calvert (at Manchester, in 1870), Richard Mansfield (Globe Theatre, London, March 16, 1889), F. R. Benson (in the English Provinces), and Edmund Tearle (Olympic Theatre, London, April 25, 1892). At the Kennington Theatre, London, Sept. 11, 1899, the play was carefully produced by Mr. Murray Carson (who acted the part of Richard), with an interesting cast including Mrs. Bernard Beere as Queen Margaret, Miss Grace Warner as Lady Anne, and Mr. Macklin as the Duke of Buckingham.

CRITICAL REMARKS.

The great popularity of this play in Shakespeare's time is undoubted, and cannot be overlooked by any critic attempting to esti-

mate its merits. Whether the number of early editions published of it is a proof that, during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, Richard III. was held to rank equally high, both as a literary work and as an acting play, is uncertain; but there can be little doubt that no work of Shakespeare's was more generally read, with the exception of the Poems, than Richard III. and those one or two other plays which came nearest to it in popularity. In later times its literary merits cannot have been very highly esteemed, or Cibber's miserable version would not have been allowed to hold the stage so long, and indeed to have been the only form in which this play was known by most of Shakespeare's countrymen.

When one comes to study the play carefully, and to read it through from beginning to end, one sees that the impression it produces upon one, when acted, is, after all, not far from the right one. Richard himself is, in reality, the play. We have, in passing, a strong sympathy for the young princes; we feel a mild pang of pity for the other numerous victims of Richard's merciless ambition: but it is the many-sided, resolute, and intellectual villain that really absorbs our attention, preoccupies our interest, and, in spite of his crimes, almost takes by storm our sympathies. A very Proteus he is, morally speaking: now an ardent lover, the next moment a plausible statesman, then a generous and dotting friend; now a religious hypocrite and next a daring soldier. It is the ever-changing variety of his wickedness that fascinates us. Though he commits every crime which the hero of the coarsest melodrama ever committed, there is nothing vulgar about him. Endowed by nature with the dramatic temperament in its highest degree, he is such a superb actor—and he knows it—that he can simulate the most elevated sentiments, the most passionate emotions, with such wonderful *superficial* truth, that we feel he might deceive the devil himself; to say nothing of the weak and silly women or the blindly self-seeking men upon whom he practises his wiles.

With the exception of Margaret, Shake-

spears has not bestowed much care upon the other characters of the play; yet they are sufficiently well drawn to interest one, did not Richard overshadow them all. Students, who read Shakespeare only, can discourse most eloquently upon the grand idea of Margaret, the impersonation of Nemesis, glorying in the vengeance which falls, in most cases with only too much justice, on those who had been either principles or accomplices in the rebellion against her late royal husband, in the murder of her darling child, and in all the horrible acts of cruelty which the Yorkist party, ultimately triumphant in the long civil wars, had perpetrated. But when the play is brought to the true test of a play,—when it is acted—were Margaret to be represented by one who had inherited all the talent and reputation of a Siddons, added to the prestige of a popular favourite at the present day, no one would take much interest in her, or regard her otherwise than as something of a bore, who interferes with the main action of the drama. Truth to tell, there is no female character in Richard III. that can interest one, dramatically speaking. Shakespeare has subordinated, so ruthlessly, every other one of the *Dramatis Personæ* to the central figure, Richard, that the wrongs of Elizabeth and of Anne make but little impression upon us, so angry are we at the weakness with which they succumb to the wily arts of Richard. They accept his simulations for realities so blindly, that the audience cannot reproach themselves because *they are* equally deceived. If those, whose dearest ones he had so treacherously murdered, can forgive him, why should not the spectators do so; for they can have no personal feeling against him, and are, moreover, dazzled by his intellectual brilliancy and by the imposing vigour of his character? Margaret alone resists him, and never flinches in her virulent denunciations of his crimes. Shakespeare throws an unnecessary monotony into her cursing. She is always declaiming, as it were, in the same key; and we should be more than mortal if these reiterated curses, this ever-flowing torrent of imprecation, did not weary us. We forget that she was ever young and handsome. We forget how nobly she stood by her son, when

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his father, with well-meaning but feeble amiability, would have sacrificed his boy's just rights in the cause of peace. We have not seen her rallying with invincible courage the shattered remnant of a defeated army, or opposing to the insolent brutality of crowds of men the quenchless courage of a true woman's heart. We only see this wild, half-maniacal, old woman impotently cursing, or triumphing in the just retribution of a too-patient Providence, but playing no active part, as far as we can see, in bringing about that retribution. To the reader Margaret is an impressive figure enough; but, to the spectator of the acted play, she is only a gloomy kind of chorus, prophesying, with tediously elaborated indignation, events that we are on tenter-hooks to see actually happen. Of the second and third parts of Henry VI. Margaret is indeed the heroine; but of this play she can never be.

There are few even of Shakespeare's earlier plays so unequal as Richard III. The poet's art, as a dramatist, is nowhere shown in a more remarkable degree than in the skill, with which he has managed to make a character, so inherently repulsive as that of Richard, interesting, and even, to a certain degree, sympathetic to his audience. His first appearance in this play is most artfully contrived. The action commences at once with his entrance—and here is the great mistake, we may remark, in Cibber's abominable version. Shakespeare commences his play with Richard's soliloquy, in which he at once enchains our attention. At the very outset, he brings into prominence the humour of the character, as well as the intellectual isolation, in which Richard's physical deformity, coupled with a strong and justifiable consciousness of his own mental superiority over all around him, has placed him. Cibber, on the contrary, commences with a lot of tiresome stuff spoken by characters in whom we take no interest; and he destroys the sympathy, which Richard's soliloquy might create for him, by exhibiting the brutal murder of King Henry. Shakespeare, far wiser, after a short scene of studied hypocrisy, first between Richard and Clarence, and then with Hastings, brings us at once to the audacious love scene with Anne;

in which the amazing powers of simulation, and the almost supernatural strength of will that distinguish Richard, are brought into the strongest prominence, illumined by the dazzling flashes of that bitter ironical humour which, spite of ourselves, we cannot help enjoying. Of course, if one stops, but for a few moments, to measure Richard by the moral standard of the decalogue, we have nothing but horror and grave condemnation for him; but, like Goethe's Mephistopheles, there is such a reckless audacity about his wickedness, such a brilliant force in his sarcasm, that, as long as he is not ordering *us* to execution, or scathing *us* with his irony, we can only admire instead of reprobating his utter immorality. A hypocrite to everyone else, he is at least sincere to himself. He makes no show—when he bares what there is left to him of a soul—of pretending to any of the gentler virtues; self-reliance, courage, and iron will are all there; devoted, indeed, to the worst of ends, but devoted with such fearless determination that we forget, for a moment, the monstrousness of his aim. Whether he is making love to the pretty widow over the body of her late husband, or affecting sympathy with the brother whom he has betrayed to death; whether smiling the basilisk's smile over his unhappy nephews, or cajoling Hastings, or pouring out his confidences into the tickled ears of Buckingham; whether he is playing a religious farce, supported by two bishops, for the benefit of the thick-skulled citizens, or standing a triple fire of curses from three angry women; whether giving directions, with marvellous promptitude, for the defeat of the rebellious Buckingham, or at bay before the advancing forces of Richmond; even in the planning and execution of his most atrocious crimes, Richard is always a *man*. One cannot help feeling what a brave scoundrel he is. There is nothing of the pettifogger, nothing of the midnight assassin, or the secret poisoner, about him. His crimes are daringly defiant alike of man and of God. One cannot help thinking that, if once he were secure in the position which he had gained by such audacious criminality, he would make a splendid ruler of men, and, perhaps, in some senses, a

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great king. This glamour which encircles Richard is created by Shakespeare's magic touch. While he apparently adopts the extreme hostility of the most densely bigoted of the old chroniclers in his views of Richard's character, yet so humorous and so dramatic is Shakespeare's creation that, paradoxical as it may seem, we have more sympathy with *his* Richard than with the martyr to malignity and slander, which such a devoted admirer as Buck would make of the successful usurper. When young Richmond, the representative of outraged humanity, the avenger of women done to death by the slow torture of cruelty and of children basely murdered in their sleep, comes on the scene, with his small body of devoted but rather timid followers, quaking in their shoes at the very thought of the wild boar whose forces they are going to attack, our sympathies are naturally with him. This heroic champion of the House of Lancaster gives no sign, however slight, of developing into the monster of avarice that Henry VII. subsequently became; his character is as admirable as modesty and courage can make it; yet, somehow, we feel that, when Richard

awakes from that fearful dream, with the prophetic death-sweat of agony on his brow, as he nerves himself for the last struggle; when he utters that final defiance of the Great To-Be:

Conscience is but a word that cowards use,

we feel, indeed, blood-stained murderer though he be, that "a thousand hearts are great within his bosom." We are conscious that the curtain is about to descend on the last act of his short and feverish reign; we know that it is time Heaven's long-delayed vengeance overtook this Titanic sinner: yet there is a kind of doubtful feeling in our hearts whether, after all, we should not have thrown in our lot by the side of this wild beast brought to bay, instead of with his more fortunate enemies who are hunting him to death. Shakespeare rightly forbore to show us the naked body flung like the carcass of a sheep across a horse and cast by the roadside unburied: for he has done enough to make us feel, while we cry "God bless King Henry!", that Bosworth Field had been fatal to one who, with all his vices, showed himself, to the last, a brave man.



Glo. He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute. (Act I. 12, 13.)

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ACT I.

SCENE I. *London. A street.*

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this sun of York;¹
And all the clouds that lour'd upon our house
In² the deep bosom of the ocean buried.
Now are our brows bound with victorious
wreaths;

Our bruised arms hung up for monuments;²
Our stern alarums chang'd to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled
front;³

And now—instead of mounting barbed⁴
steeds, • 10

To fright the souls of fearful⁵ adversaries—
He⁶ capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.

But I, that am not shap'd for sportive⁷ tricks,
Nor made to court an amorous looking-glass;
I, that am rudely stamp'd,⁸ and want love's
majesty

To strut before a wanton ambling nymph;
I, that am curtail'd of this fair proportion,
Cheated of feature⁹ by dissembling nature,
Deform'd, unfinish'd, sent before my time 20
Into this breathing world, scarce half made
up,

And that so lamely and unfashionable,
That dogs bark at me as I halt by them;—
Why, I, in this weak piping time of peace,
Have no delight¹⁰ to pass away the time,
Unless to spy my shadow in the sun,
And descant on mine own deformity:

And therefore—since I cannot prove a lover,
To entertain¹¹ these fair well-spoken days—
I am determin'd to prove a villain, 30
And hate the idle pleasures of these days.

¹ *This sun of York*, i.e. Edward; an allusion to his badge.

² *Monuments*, memorials.

³ *Front*, forehead.

⁴ *Barbed*, caparisoned for war.

⁵ *Fearful*, timid.

⁶ *He*, i.e. War (personified).

⁷ *Sportive*, wanton.

⁸ *Stamp'd*, shaped.

⁹ *Feature*, form, proportion.

¹⁰ *Delight*, amusement, pastime.

¹¹ *Entertain*, spend.

Plots have I laid, inductions¹ dangerous, 32a
By drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,
To set my brother Clarence and the king
In deadly hate the one against the other:
And, if King Edward be as true and just
As I am subtle, false, and treacherous,
This day should Clarence closely be mew'd²
up,

About a prophecy, which says that G
Of Edward's heirs the murderer shall be. 40
Dive, thoughts, down to my soul:—here Clarence comes.

Enter CLARENCE guarded, and BRAKENBURY.

Brother, good day: what means this armed
guard

That waits upon your grace?

Clar. His majesty,
Tendering³ my person's safety, hath appointed

This conduct⁴ to convey me to the Tower.

Glo. Upon what cause?

Clar. Because my name
is George.

Glo. Alack, my lord, that fault is none of
yours;

He should, for that, commit your godfathers:—

[O, belike his majesty hath some intent
That you shall be new-christen'd in the
Tower.] 50

But what's the matter, Clarence? may I
know?

Clar. Yea, Richard, when I know; for I
protest

As yet I do not: but, as I can learn,
He hearkens after prophecies and dreams;
And from the cross-row plucks the letter G,
And says a wizard told him that by G
His issue disinherited should be;
And for⁵ my name of George begins with G,
It follows in his thought that I am he. 59

[These, as I learn, and such like toys⁶ as these,
Have mov'd his highness to commit me now.]

Glo. Why, this it is, when men are rul'd by
women:—

'T is not the king that sends you to the Tower;
My Lady Grey his wife, Clarence, 't is she

That tempers him to this extremity.⁷ 65
Was it not she, and that good man of worship,⁸
Antony Woodville,⁹ her brother there,
That made him send Lord Hastings to the
Tower,

From whence this present day he is deliver'd?
We are not safe, Clarence; we are not safe.

Clar. By heaven, I think there's no man
is secure 71

But the queen's kindred, and night-walking
heralds

That trudge betwixt the king and Mistress
Shore.

[Heard ye not what an humble suppliant
Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery?

Glo. Humbly complaining to her deity
Got my lord chamberlain his liberty.]

I'll tell you what,—I think it is our way,¹⁰
If we will keep in favour with the king,

To be her men, and wear her livery: 80

[The jealous o'erworn widow and herself,
Since that our brother dubb'd them gentle-
women,

Are mighty gossips¹¹ in this monarchy.]

Brak. Beseech your graces both to pardon me;
His majesty hath straitly given in charge
That no man shall have private conference,
Of what degree soever, with his brother.

Glo. Even so; an please your worship,
Brakenbury,

You may partake of¹² any thing we say:
We speak no treason, man;—we say the king
Is wise and virtuous; and his noble queen
Well struck in years, fair, and not jealous;¹³
We say that Shore's wife hath a pretty foot,
A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing
tongue;

And that the queen's kin are made gentle-
folks:

How say you, sir? can you deny all this?

Brak. With this, my lord, myself have
nought to do.

Glo. Naught to do with Mistress Shore! I
tell thee, fellow,

⁷ *Tempers him to this extremity*, moulds him, persuades him to this severity. ⁸ *Worship*, worth.

⁹ *Woodville*, pronounced as a trisyllable, *Woodville*.

¹⁰ *It is our way*, our course is.

¹¹ *Gossips*, godmothers, i.e. patrons.

¹² *Partake of*, i.e. hear.

¹ *Inductions*=beginnings (of schemes).

² *Mew'd*, shut.

³ *Tendering*, regarding of.

⁴ *Conduct*, escort.

⁵ *For*, since

⁶ *Toys*, trifles.

He that doth naught¹ with her, excepting
one,

Were best to do it secretly, alone. 100

Brak. What one, my lord?

Glo. Her husband, knave:—wouldst thou
betray me?

Brak. Beseech your grace to pardon me;
and, withal,

Forbear your conference with the noble duke.

Clar. We know thy charge, Brakenbury,
and will obey. 105

Glo. We are the queen's abjects,² and must
obey.—

Brother, farewell: I will unto the king;
And whatsoever you will employ me in,—
Were it to call King Edward's widow
“sister,”—

I will perform it to enfranchise³ you. 110



Hast. Good time of day unto my gracious lord!

Glo. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!— (Act I. 1, 122, 123)

Meantime, this deep disgrace in brotherhood
Touches me deeper than you can imagine.

Clar. I know it pleaseth neither of us
well. 118

Glo. Well, your imprisonment shall not be
long;

I will deliver you, or else lie⁴ for you:
Meantime, have patience.

Clar. I must perforce:
farewell. [*Exeunt Clarence, Brakenbury,
and Guard.*]

Glo. Go, tread the path that thou shalt
ne'er return,

Simple, plain Clarence!—I do love thee so,
That I will shortly send thy soul to heaven,
If heaven will take the present at our
hands.— 120

But who comes here? the new-deliver'd Has-
tings?

¹ *Naught*=naughtiness, wickedness.

² *Abjects*, menials (literally, “castaways”).

³ *Enfranchise*, liberate. ⁴ *Lie*, be imprisoned.

Enter HASTINGS.

Hast. Good time of day unto my gracious lord! 122

Glo. As much unto my good lord chamberlain!

Well are you welcome to the open air.

How hath your lordship brook'd imprisonment?

Hast. With patience, noble lord, as prisoners must:

But I shall live, my lord, to give them thanks That were the cause of my imprisonment.

Glo. No doubt, no doubt; and so shall Clarence too;

For they that were your enemies are his, 130
And have prevail'd as much on¹ him as you.

Hast. More pity that the eagle should be mew'd,²

While kites and buzzards prey at liberty.³

Glo. What news abroad?

Hast. No news so bad abroad as this at home,—

The king is sickly, weak, and melancholy,
And his physicians fear him⁴ mightily.

Glo. Now, by Saint Paul, this news is bad indeed.

O, he hath kept an evil diet⁵ long,
And overmuch consum'd his royal person: 140
'Tis very grievous to be thought upon.

What, is he in his bed?

Hast. He is.

Glo. Go you before, and I will follow you.

[*Exit Hastings.*]

He cannot live, I hope; and must not die
Till George be pack'd with post-horse up to heaven.

I'll in, to urge⁶ his hatred more to Clarence,
With lies well steel'd⁷ with weighty arguments;

And, if I fail not in my deep intent,
Clarence hath not another day to live: 150
Which done, God take King Edward to his mercy,
And leave the world for me to bustle in!

For then I'll marry Warwick's youngest daughter: 158

What though I kill'd her husband and her father?

The readiest way to make the wench amends,
Is to become her husband and her father:

The which will I; not all⁸ so much for love

As for another secret close⁹ intent,

By marrying her which¹⁰ must reach unto.

But yet I run before my horse to market:

Clarence still breathes; Edward still lives and reigns: 161

When they are gone, then must I count my gains. [*Exit.*]

SCENE II. *The same. Another street.*

The corpse of KING HENRY THE SIXTH is brought in, borne in an open coffin, attended by TRESSSEL, BERKELEY, and other Gentlemen with halberds guarding it; and LADY ANNE as mourner.

Anne. Set down, set down your honourable load,—

If honour may be shrouded in a hearse,—

Whilst I awhile obsequiously¹⁰ lament

Th' untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster.—

[*The Bearers set down the coffin.*]

Poor key-cold figure of a holy king!

Pale ashes of the house of Lancaster!

Thou bloodless remnant of that royal blood!

Be't lawful that I invoke thy ghost,

To hear the lamentations of poor Anne,

Wife to thy Edward, to thy slaughter'd son,

Stabb'd by the selfsame hand that made these wounds! 11

[*Lo, in these windows that let forth thy life, I pour the helpless¹¹ balm of my poor eyes:—*]

O, curs'd be the hand that made these holes!

Curs'd the heart that had the heart to do it!

[*Curs'd the blood that let this blood from hence!*]

More direful hap betide¹² that hated wretch,
That makes us wretched by the death of thee,
Than I can wish to adders, spiders, toads,

¹ On=against.

² Mew'd, caged, shut up.

³ Prey at liberty, i.e. are at liberty to prey (on whom they choose).

⁴ Fear him, i.e. fear for him.

⁵ Diet, mode of life.

⁶ Urge, excite.

⁷ Steel'd, sharpened.

⁸ All=quite.

⁹ Close, hidden.

¹⁰ Obsequiously, from obsequies, i.e. funeral rites—as becomes the chief mourner at his funeral.

¹¹ Helpless, unhelpful, unavailing.

¹² Hap betide, fortune befall.

Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives! 20
 If ever he have child, abortive be it,
 Prodigious,¹ and untimely brought to light,
 Whose ugly and unnatural aspect
 May fright the hopeful mother at the view;
 And that be heir to his unhappiness!²
 If ever he have wife, let her be made
 More miserable by the death of him
 Than I am made by my young lord and thee!—
 Come, now towards Chertsey with your holy
 load,

Taken from Paul's to be interred there; 30
 And still,³ as you are weary of the weight,
 Rest you, whiles I lament King Henry's corse.
[The Bearers take up the coffin and move forwards.]

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. Stay, you that bear the corse, and set
 it down.

Anne. What black magician conjures up
 this fiend,

To stop devoted charitable deeds?

Glo. Villains, set down the corse; or, by
 Saint Paul,

I'll make a corse of him that disobeys!

First Gent. My lord, stand back, and let
 the coffin pass.

Glo. Unmanner'd dog! stand thou, when I
 command: 39

Advance⁴ thy halberd higher than my breast,
 Or, by Saint Paul, I'll strike thee to my foot,
 And spurn upon⁵ thee, beggar, for thy bold-
 •• ness. *[The Bearers set down the coffin.]*

Anne. What, do you tremble? are you all
 afraid?

*[Alas, I blame you not; for you are mortal,
 And mortal eyes cannot endure the devil.—]*
 Avaunt, thou dreadful minister of hell!
 Thou hadst but power over his mortal body,—
 His soul thou canst not have; therefore, be
 gone.

Glo. Sweet saint, for charity, be not so curst.⁶

Anne. Foul devil, for God's sake, hence,
 and trouble us not; 50

For thou hast made the happy earth thy hell,

Fill'd it with cursing⁷ cries and deep exclams.
 If thou delight to view thy heinous deeds,
 Behold this pattern of thy butcheries.— 54
*[O, gentlemen, see, see! dead Henry's wounds
 Open their congeal'd mouths and bleed
 afresh!—]*

Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity;
 For 't is thy presence that exhales⁷ this blood
 From cold and empty veins, where no blood
 dwells;

Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural, 60
 Provokes this deluge most unnatural.—

O God, which this blood mad'st, revenge his
 death!

O earth, which this blood drink'st, revenge
 his death!

Either, heaven, with lightning strike the
 murderer dead;

Or, earth, gape open wide, and eat him quick,⁸
 As thou dost swallow up this good king's blood,
 Which his hell-govern'd arm hath butchered!]

Glo. Lady, you know no rules of charity,
 Which renders good for bad, blessings for
 curses.

Anne. Villain, thou know'st no law of God
 nor man: 70

No beast so fierce but knows some touch of pity.

Glo. But I know none, and therefore am no
 beast.

Anne. O wonderful, when devils tell the
 truth!

Glo. More wonderful, when angels are so
 angry.—

Vouchsafe, divine perfection of a woman,
 Of these supposed crimes, to give me leave,
 By circumstance,⁹ but to acquit myself.

*[Anne. Vouchsafe, defus'd¹⁰ infection of a
 man,*

For these known evils, but to give me leave,
 By circumstance, to curse thy cursed self. 80

Glo. Fairer than tongue can name thee, let
 me have

Some patient leisure to excuse myself.

Anne. Fouler than heart can think thee,
 thou canst make

No excuse current,¹¹ but to hang thyself.

¹ *Prodigious*, monstrous.

² *Unhappiness*, wickedness, disposition to evil.

³ *Still*, from time to time. ⁴ *Advance*, i.e. raise.

⁵ *Spurn upon*, kick. ⁶ *Curst*, shrewish, froward.

⁷ *Exhales*, draws forth.

⁸ *Quick*, alive.

⁹ *By circumstance*, circumstantially, in detail.

¹⁰ *Defus'd*, "wide-spread," or, perhaps, "shapeless."

¹¹ *Current*, i.e. that will pass.

Glo. By such despair, I should accuse myself.

Anne. And, by despairing, shouldst thou stand excus'd

For doing worthy¹ vengeance on thyself,
That didst unworthy slaughter upon others.

Glo. Say that I slew them not?

Anne. Why, then, they are not dead:
But dead they are, and, devilish slave, by thee. 90

Glo.] I did not kill your husband.

Anne. Why, then, he is alive.

Glo. Nay, he is dead; and slain by Edward's hand.

Anne. In thy foul throat thou liest: Queen Margaret saw
Thy murd'rous falchion smoking in his blood;
The which thou once didst bend against² her breast,

But that thy brothers beat aside the point.

Glo. I was provoked by her slanderous tongue,
That laid their guilt upon my guiltless shoulders.

Anne. Thou wast provoked by thy bloody mind, 99

That never dreamt on aught but butcheries:
Didst thou not kill this king?

Glo. I did, I grant ye.

Anne. Dost grant me, hedgehog? then, God grant me too

Thou may'st be damned for that wicked deed!
O, he was gentle, mild, and virtuous!

Glo. The better for the King of heaven,
that hath him.

Anne. He is in heaven, where thou shalt never come.

Glo. Let him thank me, that help to send him thither;

For he was fitter for that place than earth.

Anne. And thou unfit for any place but hell.

Glo. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me name it. 110

Anne. Some dungeon.

Glo. Your bed-chamber.

Anne. Ill rest betide the chamber where thou liest!

Glo. So will it, madam, till I lie with you.

Anne. I hope so.

Glo. I know so.—But, gentle

Lady Anne,— 114

To leave this keen encounter of our wits,
And fall somewhat into a slower³ method,—
Is not the causer of the timeless⁴ deaths
Of these Plantagenets, Henry and Edward,
As blameful as the executioner?

Anne. Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd effect.⁵ 120

Glo. Your beauty was the cause of that effect;

Your beauty, that did haunt me in my sleep
To undertake the death of all the world,
So I might live one hour in your sweet bosom.

Anne. If I thought that, I tell thee, homicide,

These nails should rent⁶ that beauty from my cheeks.

Glo. These eyes could not endure that beauty's wreck;

You should not blemish it, if I stood by:

As all the world is cheered by the sun,
So I by that; it is my day, my life. 130

Anne. Black night o'ershade thy day, and death thy life!

Glo. Curse not thyself, fair creature; thou art both.

Anne. I would I were, to be reveng'd on thee.

Glo. It is a quarrel most unnatural,
To be reveng'd on him that loveth thee.

Anne. It is a quarrel just and reasonable,
To be reveng'd on him that kill'd my husband.

Glo. He that bereft thee, lady, of thy husband,

Did it to help thee to a better husband.

Anne. His better doth not breathe upon the earth. 140

Glo. He lives that loves thee better than he could.

Anne. Name him.

Glo. Plantagenet.

Anne. Why, that was he.

Glo. The selfsame name, but one of better nature.

Anne. Where is he?

Glo. Here. [*She spits at him.*] Why; dost thou spit at me?

¹ Worthy, deserved.

² Bend against, present at.

³ Slower, quieter, graver.

⁴ Timeless, untimely.

⁵ Effect = doing, agency.

⁶ Rent = rend.

Anna. Would it were mortal poison, for thy sake! 145

Glo. Never came poison from so sweet a place.]•

Anna. [Never hung poison on a fouler toad.]
Out of my sight! thou dost infect mine eyes.
Glo. Thine eyes, sweet lady, have infected mine.

Anna. Would they were basilisks, to strike thee dead! 150

Glo. I would they were, that I might die at once;

For now they kill me with a living death.
Those eyes of thine from mine have drawn salt tears,
Sham'd their aspects with store of childish drops:



Glo. Nay, do not pause; for I did kill King Henry,—
But 't was thy beauty that provoked me —(Act I. 2 178, 180)

These eyes, which never shed remorseful tear,
No, when my father York and Edward wept
To hear¹ the piteous moan that Rutland made
When black-fac'd Clifford shook his sword at him;

Nor when thy warlike father, like a child,
Told the sad story of my father's death, 180
And twenty times made pause to sob and weep,
That all the standers-by had wet their cheeks,
Like trees bedash'd with rain; in that sad time

My manly eyes did scorn an humble tear;
And what these sorrows could not thence ex-
hale,² 185

Thy beauty hath, and made them blind with weeping.

I never su'd to friend nor enemy;
My tongue could never learn sweet smooth-
ing³ words;

But, now⁴ thy beauty is propos'd my fee,

¹ To hear, i. e. to hear of.
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² Exhale, draw forth. ³ Smoothing, flattering.
⁴ Now, now that.

My proud heart sues, and prompts my tongue
to speak. [*She looks scornfully at him.*]

Teach not thy lips such scorn; for they were
made 171

For kissing, lady, not for such contempt.
If thy revengeful heart cannot forgive,
Lo, here I lend thee this sharp-pointed sword;
Which if thou please to hide in this true
breast,

And let the soul forth that adareth thee,
I lay it naked to the deadly stroke,
And humbly beg the death upon my knee.

[*Gives her his sword, and lays his breast
open, kneeling.*]

Nay, do not pause; for I did kill King
Henry,—

[*She offers at his breast with his sword.*]

But 't was thy beauty that provoked me. 180
Nay, now dispatch; 't was I that stabb'd
young Edward,—

[*She again offers at his breast.*]

But 't was thy heavenly face that set me on.

[*She lets fall the sword.*]

Take up the sword again, or take up me.

Anne. Arise, dissembler: though I wish thy
death,

I will not be thy executioner.

Glo. Then bid me kill myself, and I will
do it. [*Rises and takes up his sword.*]

Anne. I have already.

Glo. That was in thy rage:

Speak it again, and, even with the word,
This hand, which for thy love did kill thy love,
Shall for thy love kill a far truer love; 190
To both their deaths shalt thou be accessory.

Anne. I would I knew thy heart.

Glo. 'T is figur'd in my tongue.

Anne. I fear me both are false.

Glo. Then never man was true.

Anne. Well, well, put up your sword.

Glo. Say, then, my peace is made.

Anne. That shalt thou know hereafter.

Glo. But shall I live in hope?

Anne. All men, I hope, live so. 200

Glo. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Anne. To take, is not to give.

[*She puts on the ring.*]

Glo. Look, how this ring encompasseth thy
finger,

Even so thy breast encloseth my poor heart;

Wear both of them, for both of them are thine.
And if thy poor devoted servant may
But beg one favour at thy gracious hand,
Thou dost confirm his happiness for ever.

Anne. What is it?

Glo. That it may please you leave these sad
designs¹ 210

To him that hath most cause to be a mourner,
And presently repair to Crosby Place;
Where—after I have solemnly interr'd,
At Chertsey monastery, this noble king,
And wet his grave with my repentant tears—
I will with all expedient² duty see you:
For divers unknown reasons, I beseech you,
Grant me this boon.

Anne. With all my heart; and much it joys
me too

To see you are become so penitent.— 220
Tressel and Berkeley, go along with me.

Glo. Bid me farewell.

Anne. 'T is more than you deserve;

But since you teach me how to flatter you,
Imagine I have said farewell already.

[*Exeunt Lady Anne, Tressel, and Berkeley.*]

Glo. Sirs, take up the corse.

Gent. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

Glo. No, to White-Friars; there attend my
coming. [*Exeunt all, except Gloster.*]

Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?

Was ever woman in this humour won?

I'll have her;—but I will not keep her long.

What! I, that kill'd her husband and his
father, 230

To take her in her heart's extremest hate;—

With curses in her mouth, tears in her eyes,

The bleeding witness of her hatred by;

Having God, her conscience, and these bars
against me,

And I no friends to back my suit withal

But the plain devil and dissembling looks,

And yet to win her,—all the world to nothing!
Ha!

[*Hath she forgot already that brave prince,
Edward, her lord, whom I, some three months
since,* 239]

Stabb'd in my angry mood at Tewksbury?

A sweeter and a lovelier gentleman—

¹ These sad designs = this sad work.

² Expedient, expeditious.

Fram'd in the prodigality of nature, 242
Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right
royal—

The spacious world cannot again afford:
And will she yet abase her eyes on me,
That cropp'd the golden prime of this sweet
prince,

And made her widow to a woeful bed?
On me, whose all got equals Edward's moiety?
On me, that halt, and am mis-shapen, thus?]

My dukedom to a beggarly denier,¹ 250

I do mistake my person all this while:

Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,

Myself to be a marvellous proper² man.

I'll be at charges for³ a looking-glass;

And entertain⁴ a score or two of tailors

To study fashions to adorn my body:

Since I am crept in favour with myself,

I will maintain it with some little cost. 259

But first I'll turn yon fellow in⁵ his grave;

And then return lamenting to my love.—

Shine out, fair sun, till I have bought a glass,
That I may see my shadow as I pass. [Exit.

SCENE III. *The same. A room in the
palace.*

Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, RIVERS, and GREY.

Riv. Have patience, madam: there's no
doubt his majesty

Will soon recover his accustom'd health.

[Grey. In that you brook it ill, it makes him
worse:

Therefore, for God's sake, entertain good com-
fort,

And cheer his grace with quick⁶ and merry
words.]

Q. Eliz. If he were dead, what would be-
tide of me?

[Grey. No other harm but loss of such a lord.

Q. Eliz. The loss of such a lord includes all
harm.]

Grey. The heavens have bless'd you with a
goodly son,

To be your comforter when he is gone. 10

¹ Denier, the twelfth part of a sou; a coin of the lowest
value. ² Proper, handsome, well-proportioned.

³ Be at charges for, put myself to the expense of.

⁴ Entertain, take into my service. ⁵ In, into.

⁶ Quick, lively.

Q. Eliz. Ah, he is young; and his minority
Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloster, 12
A man that loves not me nor none of you.

Riv. Is it concluded he shall be protector?

Q. Eliz. It is determin'd, not concluded yet:⁷
But so it must be, if the king miscarry.⁸

Grey. Here come the lords of Buckingham
and Stanley.

Enter BUCKINGHAM and STANLEY.

Buck. Good time of day unto your royal grace!

[Stan. God make your majesty joyful as you
have been!

Q. Eliz. The Countess Richmond, good my
Lord of Stanley, 20

To your good prayer will scarcely say amen.

Yet, Stanley, notwithstanding she's your wife,

And loves not me, be you, good lord, assur'd

I hate not you for her proud arrogance.

Stan. I do beseech you, either not believe

The envious slanders of her false accusers;

Or, if she be accus'd on true report,

Bear with her weakness, which, I think, pro-
ceeds

From wayward sickness, and no grounded
malice.]

Riv. Saw you the king to-day, my Lord of
Stanley? 30

Stan. But now the Duke of Buckingham
and I

Are come from visiting his majesty.

Q. Eliz. What likelihood of his amendment,
lords?

Buck. Madam, good hope; his grace speaks
cheerfully.

Q. Eliz. God grant him health! Did you
confer with him?

Buck. Ay, madam: he desires to make
atonement⁹

Between the Duke of Gloster and your
brothers,

And between them and my lord chamber-
lain;¹⁰

And sent to warn¹¹ them to his royal presence.

⁷ Determin'd, not concluded yet, resolved on, but not
yet finally settled.

⁸ If the king miscarry, if ill befall the king, i.e. if the
king die.

⁹ To make atonement, i.e. to bring about a reconcilla-
tion. ¹⁰ My lord chamberlain, i.e. Hastings.

¹¹ Warn, summon.

Q. Eliz. Would all were well!—but that¹,
will never be: 40
I fear our happiness is at the height.¹

Enter GLOSTER, HASTINGS, and DORSET.

Glo. They do me wrong, and I will not endure it:—

Who are they that complain unto the king

That I, forsooth, am stern, and love them not?
By holy Paul, they love his grace but lightly
That fill his ears with such dissentious rumours.
Because I cannot flatter and speak fair,
Smile in men's faces, smooth,² deceive, and cog,³
Duck with French nods and apish courtesy,
I must be held a rancorous enemy. 50
Cannot a plain man live and think no harm,



Riv. Have patience, madam: there's no doubt his majesty
Will soon recover his accusom'd health.—(Act I. 3. 1, 2.)

But thus his simple truth must be abus'd 52
By silken, sly, insinuating Jacks?

Riv. To whom in all this presence⁴ speaks
your grace?

Glo. To thee, that hast nor honesty nor grace.
When have I injur'd thee? when done thee
wrong?—

Or thee?—or thee?—or any of your faction?

¹ I fear our happiness is at the height, i.e. I fear we
have reached the summit of our happiness.

² Smooth, act fawningly.

³ Cog, cheat.

⁴ Presence, audience.

A plague upon you all! [His royal grace—
Whom God preserve better than you would
wish!—

Cannot be quiet scarce a breathing-while, 60
But you must trouble him with lewd⁵ com-
plaints.]

Q. Eliz. Brother of Gloster, you mistake the
matter.

[The king, of his own royal disposition,
And not provok'd by any suitor else;

⁵ Lewd, base, vile.

{ Aiming, belike, at your interior hatred, 65
 { That in your outward action shows itself
 { Against my children, brothers, and myself,
 { Makes him^o to send; that thereby he may
 gather

{ The ground of your ill-will, and so remove it.]

Glo. I cannot tell:—the world is grown so
 bad, 70

That wrens make prey where eagles dare not
 perch:

Since every Jack became a gentleman,

There's many a gentle person made a Jack.

Q. Eliz. Come, come, we know your mean-
 ing, brother Gloster;

You envy my advancement and my friends':
 God grant we never may have need of you!

Glo. Meantime, God grants that we have
 need of you:

Our brother is imprison'd by your means,
 Myself disgrac'd, and the nobility
 Held in contempt; while great promotions so
 Are daily given to ennoble those
 That scarce, some two days since, were worth
 a noble.

Q. Eliz. By Him that rais'd me to this care-
 ful height¹

From that contented hap² which I enjoy'd,
 I never did incense his majesty
 Against the Duke of Clarence, but have been
 An earnest advocate to plead for him.
 My lord, you do me shameful injury,
 Falsely to draw me in³ these vile suspects.⁴

Glo. You may deny that you were not the
 cause 90

Of my Lord Hastings' late imprisonment.

Riv. She may, my lord; for—

Glo. She may, Lord Rivers!—why, who
 knows not so?

She may do more, sir, than denying that:
 She may help you to many fair preferments;
 And then deny her aiding hand therein,
 And lay those honours on your high desert.
 What may she not? She may,—ay, marry,
 may she,—

Riv. What, marry, may she?

Glo. What, marry, may she! marry with a
 king, 100

A bachelor, a handsome stripling too: 101
 Iwis⁶ your grandam had a worsen match.

Q. Eliz. My Lord of Gloster, I have too
 long borne

Your blunt upbraidings and your bitter scoffs:
 By heaven, I will acquaint his majesty
 Of those gross taunts I often have endur'd.
 I had rather be a country servant-maid
 Than a great queen, with this condition,—
 To be so baited, scorn'd, and stormed at:

[*Enter Queen Margaret, behind.*

Small joy have I in being England's queen.

[*Q. Mar. [Aside]* And less'n'd be that small,
 God, I beseech him! 111

Thy honour, state, and seat is due to me.]
Glo. What! threat you me with telling of
 the king?

Tell him, and spare not: look, what I have
 said

I will avouch in presence of the king:

I dare adventure to be sent to the Tower.

'Tis time to speak,—my pains are quite forgot.

[*Q. Mar. [Aside]* Out, devil! I remember
 them too well:

Thou kill'dst my husband Henry in the
 Tower, 119

And Edward, my poor son, at Tewksbury.

Glo. Ere you were queen, ay, or your hus-
 band king,

I was a pack-horse in his great affairs;
 A weeder-out of his proud adversaries,
 A liberal rewarder of his friends:

To royalise his blood I spilt mine own.

[*Q. Mar. [Aside]* Ay, and much better blood
 than his or thine.

Glo. In all which time you and your hus-
 band Grey

Were factious for the house of Lancaster;—

And, Rivers, so were you:—was not your
 husband 129

In Margaret's battle⁶ at Saint Alban's slain?

Let me put in your minds, if you forget,
 What you have been ere now, and what you are;
 Withal, what I have been, and what I am.

Q. Mar. [Aside] A murderous villain, and
 so still thou art.

Glo. Poor Clarence did forsake his father,
 Warwick;

¹ Careful height, i.e. high position, surrounded with
 anxieties.

² Hap, fortune.

³ Draw me in, bring me into. ⁴ Suspects, suspicions.

⁵ Iwis, truly. ⁶ In Margaret's battle, on Margaret's side.

y, and forswore himself,—which Jesu pardon!—

Q. Mar. [Aside] Which God revenge!

Glo. To fight on Edward's party, for the crown;

[And for his meed, poor lord, he is mew'd up.]

I would to God my heart were flint, like Edward's; 140

Or Edward's soft and pitiful, like mine:

I am too childish-foolish for this world.

[*Q. Mar. [Aside]* Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave this world,

Thou cacodemon!¹ there thy kingdom is.]

Riv. My Lord of Gloster, in those busy days Which here you urge to prove us enemies,

We follow'd then our lord, our lawful king:

So should we you, if you should be our king.

Glo. If I should be!—I had rather be a pedler:

Far be it from my heart, the thought of it! 150

[*Q. Eliz.* As little joy, my lord, as you suppose

You should enjoy, were you this country's king,—

As little joy you may suppose in me,

That I enjoy, being the queen thereof.]

Q. Mar. [[Aside] As little joy enjoys the queen thereof;

For I am she, and altogether joyless.

I can no longer hold me patient.—]

[*Advancing.*

Hear me, you wrangling pirates, that fall out In sharing that which you have pill'd from me!²

Which of you trembles not that looks on me? 160

If not, that, I being queen, you bow like subjects,

Yet that, by you depos'd,³ you quake like rebels?—

[*To Gloster*] Ah, gentle villain,⁴ do not turn away!

Glo. Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'st⁵ thou in my sight?

Q. Mar. But repetition⁶ of what thou'st marr'd;⁷ 165

That will I make before I let thee go.

Glo. Wert thou not banished⁸ on pain of death?

Q. Mar. I was;

But I do find more pain in banishment

Than death can yield me here by my abode.⁸

A husband and a son thou gav'st to me,— 171

[*To Q. Eliz.*] And thou a kingdom,—all of you allegiance:

The sorrow that I have, by right is yours;

And all the pleasures you usurp are mine.

Glo. The curse my noble father laid on thee,

When thou didst crown his warlike brows with paper,

And with thy scorns drew'st rivers from his eyes;

And then, to dry them, gav'st the duke a clout Steep'd in the faultless blood of pretty Rutland;—

His curses, then from bitterness of soul

Denounc'd against thee, are all fall'n upon thee;

And God, not we, hath plagu'd⁹ thy bloody deed. 181

[*Q. Eliz.* So just is God, to right the innocent.

Hast. O, 't was the foulest deed to slay that babe,

And the most merciless that e'er was heard of.

Riv. Tyrants themselves wept when it was reported.

Dor. No man but prophesied revenge for it.

Buck. Northumberland, then present, wept to see it.]

Q. Mar. [What! were you snarling all before I came,

Ready to catch each other by the throat,

And turn you all your hatred now on me?]

Did York's dread curse prevail so much with heaven, 191

That Henry's death, my lovely Edward's death,

¹ Cacodemon, evil spirit.

² Pill'd from me, robbed me of.

³ By you depos'd, i. e. I being deposed by you.

⁴ Gentle villain, wretch of gentle birth: perhaps *gentle* is used here in a double sense, ironically.

⁵ Mak'st, i. e. doest.

⁶ Repetition, to be pronounced as quinesyllable; repetition.

⁷ Of what thou'st marr'd, i. e. of her denunciation of them all which Gloster had interrupted.

⁸ My abode, i. e. the fact of my remaining.

⁹ Plagu'd, punished.

Their kingdom's loss, my woeful banishment,
 Could all but answer for¹ that peevish blot?
 Can curses pierce the clouds and enter heaven!—
 Why, then, give way, dull clouds, to my quick
 curses!—

Though not by war, by surfeit die your king,
 As ours by murder, to make him a king!
 Edward thy son, that now is Prince of Wales,
 For Edward my son, that was Prince of Wales,
 Die in his youth by like untimely violence! 201
 Thyself a queen, for me that was a queen,
 Outlive thy glory, like my wretched self!
 Long mayst thou live to wail thy children's loss;
 And see another, as I see thee now,
 Deck'd in thy rights, as thou art stall'd² in
 mine!

Long die thy happy days before thy death;
 And, after many lengthen'd hours of grief,
 Die neither mother, wife, nor England's
 queen!— 209

Rivers and Dorset, you were standers-by,—
 And so wast thou, Lord Hastings, —when my
 son

Was stab'd with bloody daggers: God, I pray
 him,

That none of you may live his natural age,
 But by some unlook'd³ accident cut off!

Glo. Have done thy charm, thou hateful
 wither'd hag!

Q. Mar. And leave out thee? stay, dog, for
 thou shalt hear me.

If heaven have any grievous plague in store
 Exceeding those that I can wish upon thee,
 O let them keep it till thy sins be ripe
 And then hurl down their indignation 220
 On thee, the troubler of the poor world's
 peace!

The worm of conscience still⁴ be-gnaw thy soul!
 Thy friends suspect for traitors while thou
 liv'st,

And take deep traitors for thy dearest friends!
 No sleep close up that deadly eye of thine,
 Unless it be while some tormenting dream
 Affrights thee with a hell of ugly devils!
 Thou elvish-mark'd, abortive, rooting hog!
 Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity
 The slave of nature, and the son of hell! 230

[Thou slander of thy heavy mother's womb!
 Thou loathed issue of thy father's loins!]

Thou rag of honour! thou detested— 233

Glo. [Interrupting] Margaret.

Q. Mar. Richard!

Glo. Ha!

Q. Mar. I call thee not.

Glo. I cry thee mercy, then; for I did think
 That thou hadst call'd me all these bitter
 names.

Q. Mar. Why, so I did; but look'd for no
 reply.

O let me make the period⁵ to my curse!

Glo. 'T is done by me, and ends in—Mar-
 garet.

Q. Eliz. Thus have you breath'd your curse
 against yourself. 240

Q. Mar. Poor painted⁶ queen, vain flourish
 of my fortune!⁷

Why strew'st thou sugar on that bottled⁸
 spider,

Whose deadly web ensnareth thee about?

Fool, fool! thou whett'st a knife to kill thyself.
 The day will come that thou shalt wish for me
 To help thee curse this poisonous bunch-
 back'd toad.

Hast. False-boding woman, end thy frantic
 curse,

Lest to thy harm thou move⁹ our patience.

Q. Mar. Foul shame upon you! you have
 all mov'd mine.

Riv. Were you well¹⁰ serv'd, you would be
 taught your duty. 250

Q. Mar. To serve me well, you all should do
 me duty,

Teach me to be your queen, and you my sub-
 jects:

O, serve me well, and teach yourselves that
 duty!

Dor. Dispute not with her,—she is lunatic.

Q. Mar. Peace, master marquess, you are
 malapert:

Your fire-new¹¹ stamp of honour is scarce
 current:

O that your young nobility could judge

⁵ Period, conclusion. ⁶ Painted, i.e. sham

⁷ Vain flourish of my fortune, i.e. having but the empty
 externals of the rank which is mine.

⁸ Bottled, bloated. ⁹ Move, enrage. ¹⁰ Well, i.e. rightly.

¹¹ Fire-new, fresh from the mint=brand-new.

¹ Could all but answer for, &c., i.e. could, all taken to-
 gether, only atone for Rutland's death.

² Stall'd, installed. ³ Unlook'd, unforeseen. ⁴ Still, ever.

What 't were to lose it, and be miserable!
They that stand high have many blasts to
shake them;

And if they fall, they dash themselves to
pieces. 280

Glo. Good counsel, marry:—learn it, learn
it, marquess.

Dor. It touches you, my lord, as much as me.

Glo. Ay, and much more: but I was born
so high,

Our aery¹ buildeth in the cedar's top,
And dallies with the wind, and scorns the sun.

Q. Mar. And turns the sun to shade;—alas!
alas!—

Witness my son, now in the shade of death;
[Whose bright out-shining beams thy cloudy
wrath

Hath in eternal darkness folded up.]
Your aery¹ buildeth in our aery's¹ nest;— 270

O God, that seest it, do not suffer it;

As it was won with blood, lost he it so!

Buck. Peace, peace, for shame, if not for
charity.

[*Q. Mar.* Urge neither charity nor shame to
me:

Uncharitably with me have you dealt,
And shamefully my hopes by you are
butcher'd.

My charity is outrage, life my shame,—
And in that shame still live my sorrow's rage!

Buck. Have done, have done.]

Q. Mar. O princely Buckingham, I'll kiss
thy hand, 280

In sign of league and amity with thee:

Now fair befall thee and thy noble house!

Thy garments are not spotted with our blood,
Nor thou within the compass of my curse.

Buck. Nor no one here; for curses never pass²
The lips of those that breathe them in the air.

Q. Mar. I will not think but they ascend
the sky,

And there awake God's gentle-sleeping peace.
O Buckingham, take heed of yonder dog!

Look, when he fawns he bites; and when he
bites, 290

His venom tooth will rankle to the death:
Have nought to do with him, beware of him;

Sin, death, and hell have set their marks on
him, 293

And all their ministers attend on him.

Glo. What doth she say, my Lord of Buck-
ingham?

Buck. Nothing that I respect,³ my gracious
lord.

Q. Mar. What, dost thou scorn me for my
gentle counsel?

And soothe⁴ the devil that I warn thee from?
O, but remember this another day,

When he shall split thy very heart with sor-
row, 300

And say, poor Margaret was a prophetess!—
Live each of you the subjects to his hate,

And he to yours, and all of you to God's!

[*Exit.*

Hast. My hair doth stand on end to hear
her curses.

Riv. And so doth mine: I muse why she's
at liberty.

Glo. I cannot blame her: by God's holy
mother,

She hath had too much wrong; and I repent
My part thereof that I have done to her.

[*Q. Eliz.* I never did her any, to my know-
ledge.

Glo. Yet you have all the vantage of her
wrong. 310

I was too hot to do somebody good

That is too cold in thinking of it now.

Marry, as for Clarence, he is well repaid;

He is frank'd up to fatting⁵ for his pains;—

God pardon them that are the cause of it!

Riv. A virtuous and a Christian-like con-
clusion,

To pray for them that have done scath⁶ to us.

Glo. So do I ever: [*Aside*] being well
advise'd;

For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself.]

Enter CATESBY.

Cates. Madam, his majesty doth call for
you,— 320

And for your grace,—and you, my noble lords.

Q. Eliz. Catesby, I come.—Lords, will you
go with me?

¹ Aery, brood; here = race.

² Pass, i.e. go beyond (in their effect).

³ Respect, regard, pay attention to.

⁴ Soothe, flatter.

⁵ Frank'd up to fatting, shut up in a sty for the pur-
pose of being fattened.

⁶ Scath, injury.

Riv. We wait upon your grace. 323
[*Exeunt all except Gloucester.*]

Glo. I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.
The secret mischiefs that I set abroad
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.
Clarence,—whom I, indeed, have laid in dark-
ness,—
I do bewep to many simple gulls;¹

Namely, to Hastings, Stanley, Buckingham;
And say it is the queen and her allies 330
That stir the king against the duke my
brother.
Now, they believe it; and withal whet me
To be reveng'd on Rivers, Vaughan,² Grey:
But then I sigh; and, with a piece of Scripture,
Tell them that God bids us do good for evil:



Glo. How now, my hardy, stout, resolved mates!
Are you now going to dispatch this thing?—(Act i. 3. 340, 341.)

And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends stol'n out of holy writ;
And seem a saint, when most I play the
devil.—
But, soft! here come my executioners. 339

Enter two Murderers.

How now, my hardy, stout, resolved³ mates!
Are you now going to dispatch this thing?

First Murd. We are, my lord; and come to
have the warrant, 342
That we may be admitted where he is.

Glo. Well thought upon;—I have it here
about me: [*Gives the warrant.*]
When you have done, repair to Crosby Place.
But, sirs, be sudden⁴ in the execution,
Withal obdurate, do not hear him plead;
For Clarence is well-spoken, and perhaps
May move your hearts to pity, if you mark⁵ him.

¹ Gulls, dupes.

² Vaughan, pronounced as a dissyllable.

³ Resolved, resolute.

⁴ Sudden, quick.

⁵ Mark, heed.

First Murd. Tut, tut, my lord, we will not
stand to prate; 350
Talkers are no good doers: be assur'd
We go to use our hands, and not our tongues.
Ulo. Your eyes drop millstones, when fools'
eyes fall tears:
I like you, lads;—about your business straight;
Go, go, dispatch.
First Murd. We will, my noble lord.
[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *The same. A room in the Tower.*

Enter CLARENCE and BRAKENBURY.

Brak. Why looks your grace so heavily to-day?
*Clar.** O, I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,¹
I would not spend another such a night,
Though 't were to buy a world of happy days,—
So full of dismal terror was the time!
Brak. What was your dream, my lord? I
pray you, tell me.
Clar. Methought that I had broken from
the Tower,
And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy; 10
And, in my company, my brother Gloster;
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk
Upon the hatches:² [thence we look'd toward
England,
And cited up³ a thousand heavy times,
During the wars of York and Lancaster,
That had befall'n us.] As we pac'd along
[Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,]
Methought that Gloster stumbled; and, in
falling,
Struck me, that thought to stay him, over-
board
Into the tumbling billows of the main. 20
O Lord! methought, what pain it was to
drown!
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!
What sights of ugly death within mine eyes!
Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks;

A thousand men that fishes gnaw'd upon;
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,
Inestimable stones, unvalu'd⁴ jewels,
All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea:
Some lay in dead men's skulls; and, in the holes
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were
crept— 30
As 't were in scorn of eyes—reflecting gems,
That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep,
And mock'd the dead bones that lay scatter'd
by.

Brak. Had you such leisure in the time of
death

To gaze upon these secrets of the deep?

Clar. Methought I had; and often did I
strive

To yield the ghost: but still the envious flood
Stopp'd in my soul, and would not let it forth
[To find the empty, vast, and wandering air,
But smother'd it within my panting bulk,⁵ 40
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.]

Brak. Awak'd you not in this sore agony?

Clar. No, no, my dream was lengthen'd
after life;

O, then began the tempest to my soul!

I pass'd, methought, the melancholy flood,
With that sour⁶ ferryman which poets write of,
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.

The first that there did greet my stranger soul,
Was my great father-in-law, renowned War-
wick; 40

Who cried aloud, "What scourge for perjury
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence?"
And so he vanish'd: then came wandering by
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in⁷ blood; and he shriek'd out aloud,
"Clarence is come,—false, fleeting,⁸ perjur'd
Clarence,—"

That stab'd me in the field by Tewksbury;—
Seize on him, Furies, take him unto tor-
ment!"

With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends
Environ'd me, and howl'd in mine ears
Such hideous cries, that, with the very noise,
I trembling wak'd, and, for a⁹ season after, 61
Could not believe but that I was in hell,—
Such terrible impression made my dream.

¹ Faithful man, i. e. orthodox believer. ●

² The hatches, i. e. the deck.

³ Cited up, recounted.

⁴ Unvalu'd, i. e. invaluable.

⁵ Bulk, body.

⁶ Sour, morose.

⁷ Dabbled in = spattered with.

⁸ Fleeting, inconstant.

Brak. No marvel, lord, though it affrighted you; 64

I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

Clar. O Brakenbury, I have done those things,

That now give evidence against my soul,
For Edward's sake; and see how he requites me!—

O God! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,
But thou wilt be aveng'd on my misdeeds, 70
Yet execute thy wrath in¹ me alone,—

O spare my guiltless wife and my poor children!—

I pray thee, Brakenbury, stay by me.

My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

[*Clarence lies down on pallet.*]

Brak. I will, my lord: God give your grace good rest!—

[Sorrow breaks seasons and reposing hours,
Makes the night morning, and the noontide night.]

Princes have but their titles for their glories,
An outward honour for an inward toil;

And, for² unfelt inaginations, 80
They often feel a world of restless cares:

So that, between their titles and low name,
There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

Enter the two Murderers.

First Murd. Ho! who's here?

Brak. What wouldst thou, fellow? and how can'st thou hither?

First Murd. I would speak with Clarence, and I came hither on my legs.

Brak. What, so brief?

Sec. Murd. 'Tis better, sir, than to be tedious.—Let him see our commission; and talk no more. 90

[*First Murd. gives a paper to Brakenbury, who reads it.*]

Brak. I am, in this, commanded to deliver
The noble Duke of Clarence to your hands:—
I will not reason what is meant hereby,

Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.
There lies the duke asleep [*Pointing to pallet*],

and there the keys [*Giving him keys*]:

I'll to the king; and signify to him

That thus I have resign'd to you my charge.

First Murd. You may, sir; 'tis a point of wisdom: fare you well. [*Exit Brakenbury.*]

Sec. Murd. What, shall we stab him as he sleeps? 101

First Murd. No; he'll say 't was done cowardly, when he wakes.

Sec. Murd. Why he shall never wake until the great judgment-day.

First Murd. Why, then he'll say we stabb'd him sleeping.

Sec. Murd. The urging of that word "judgment" hath bred a kind of remorse in me. 110

First Murd. What, art thou afraid?

Sec. Murd. Not to kill him, having a warrant for it; but to be damn'd for killing him, from the which no warrant can defend me.

First Murd. I thought thou hadst been resolute.

Sec. Murd. So I am, to let him live.

First Murd. I'll back to the Duke of Gloucester, and tell him so. 119

Sec. Murd. Nay, I prithee, stay a little: I hope my passionate³ humour will change; it was wont to hold me but while one tells twenty.

First Murd. [*After a short pause*] How dost thou feel thyself now?

Sec. Murd. Some certain dregs of conscience are yet within me.

First Murd. Remember our reward, when the deed's done.

Sec. Murd. Zounds, he dies: I had forgot the reward. 129

First Murd. Where's thy conscience now?

Sec. Murd. In the Duke of Gloucester's purse.

[*First Murd.* So, when he opens his purse, to give us our reward, thy conscience flies out.

Sec. Murd. 'Tis no matter; let it go; there's few or none will entertain it.]

First Murd. What if it come to thee again?

Sec. Murd. I'll not meddle with it,—it makes a man a coward: a man cannot steal, but it accuseth him; a man cannot swear, but it checks him; [a man cannot lie with his neighbour's wife, but it detects him:] 'tis a blushing shame-fac'd spirit that mutinies in a man's bosom; it fills a man full of obstacles:

¹ In=on.

² For, in return for.

³ Passionate = compassionate; or, simply, emotional.

it made me once restore a purse of gold, that by chance I found; it beggars any man that keeps it: it is turn'd out of all towns and cities for a dangerous thing; and every man that means to live well endeavours to trust to himself and live without it.

First Murd. Zounds, it is even now at my elbow, persuading me not to kill the duke. 150

Sec. Murd. Take the devil in thy mind, and believe him¹ not: he¹ would insinuate² with thee but to make thee sigh.

First Murd. I am strong-fram'd, he¹ cannot prevail with me.

Sec. Murd. Spoke like a tall³ man that respects his reputation. Come, shall we fall to work?

First Murd. Take⁴ him over the costard⁵ with the hilts of thy sword, and then throw him into the malmsey-butt in the next room.

Sec. Murd. O excellent device! and make a sop⁶ of him. 162

First Murd. Soft! he wakes.

Sec. Murd. Strike!

First Murd. No, we'll reason⁷ with him.

Clar. [Waking] Where art thou, keeper? give me a cup of wine.

First Murd. You shall have wine enough, my lord, anon.

[*Clar.* In God's name, what art thou?

First Murd. A man, as you are. 170

Clar. But not, as I am, royal.

First Murd. Nor you, as we are, loyal.

Clar. Thy voice is thunder. But thy looks are humble.

First Murd. My voice is now the king's, my looks mine own.

Clar. How darkly and how deadly dost thou speak!

Thy eyes do menace me: why look you pale? Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

Both Murd. To, to, to—

Clar. To murder me?

Both Murd. Ay, ay.

Clar. You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so, 180

And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it. Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

First Murd. Offended us you have not, but the king. 188

Clar. I shall be reconcil'd to him again.

Sec. Murd. Never, my lord; therefore prepare to die.

Clar. Are you drawn forth among a world of men

To slay the innocent? What is my offence?

Where is the evidence that doth accuse me?

What lawful quest⁸ have given their verdict up 190

Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounc'd

The bitter sentence of poor Clarence' death?

Before I be convict⁹ by course of law,

To threaten me with death is most unlawful.

I charge you, as you hope to have redemption By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,

That you depart, and lay no hands on me:

The deed you undertake is damnable.

First Murd. What we will do, we do upon command.

Sec. Murd. And he that hath commanded is our king.

Clar. Erroneous¹⁰ vassals! the great King of kings 200

Hath in the table of his law commanded

That thou shalt do no murder: will you, then, Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's?

Take heed; for he holds vengeance in his hand,

To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

Sec. Murd. And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee,

For false forswearing, and for murder too:

Thou didst receive the sacrament to fight

In quarrel of¹¹ the house of Lancaster.

First Murd. And, like a traitor to the name of God, 210

Didst break that vow; and with thy treacherous blade

Unripp'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

Sec. Murd. Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and defend.

¹ Him, he, both refer to conscience.

² Insinuate = ingratiate himself.

³ Tall, stout, daring. ⁴ Take = strike. ⁵ Costard, head.

⁶ A sop, i.e. anything steeped in liquor. ⁷ Reason, i.e. talk.

⁸ Quest, inquest or jury.

⁹ Convict, convicted.

¹⁰ Erroneous, mistaken.

¹¹ In quarrel of = in the cause of.

First Murd. How canst thou urge God's
dreadful law to us, 214

When thou hast broke it in such dear¹ degree?

Clar. Alas! for whose sake did I that ill deed?

For Edward, for my brother, for his sake:

He sends you not to murder me for this;

For in that sin he is as deep as I. 221

If God will be avenged for the deed,

O, know you yet, he doth it publicly: 222

Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm;

He needs no indirect or lawless course

To cut off those that have offended him.

First Murd. Who made thee, then, a bloody
minister,

When gallant, springing, brave Plantagenet,

That princely novice, was struck dead by thee?



Clar. In God's name, what art thou?—(Act I 4 109)

Clar. My brother's love,² the devil, and my
rage.

First Murd. Thy brother's love, our duty,
and thy faults, 230

Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

Clar. If you do love my brother, hate not me;

I am his brother, and I love him well.

If you are hir'd for meed,³ go back again,

And I will send you to my brother Gloster,

Who shall reward you better for my life 236
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

Ser. Murd. You are deceiv'd, your brother
Gloster hates you.

Clar. O, no, he loves me, and he holds me dear:
Go you to him from me.

Both Murd. Ay, so we will. 240

Clar. Tell him, when that our princely
father York

Bless'd his three sons with his victorious arm,
And charg'd us from his soul to love each
other,

¹ Dear = extreme.

² My brother's love, i.e. my love for my brother.

³ Meed, reward.

{ He little thought of this divided friendship:^{*}
 { Bid Gloster think on this, and he will weep.

{ *First Murd.* Ay, millstones; as he lesson'd
 { us to weep. 246

{ *Clar.* O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

{ *First Murd.* Right,
 { As snow in harvest. — Come, you deceive your-
 { self:

{ 'T is he that sends us to destroy you here. 250

{ *Clar.* It cannot be; for he bewept my for-
 { tune,

{ And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with
 { sobs,

{ That he would labour my delivery.

{ *First Murd.* Why, so he doth, when he de-
 { livers you

{ From this earth's thralldom to the joys of
 { heaven.

{ *Sec. Murd.* Make peace with God, for you
 { must die, my lord.

{ *Clar.* Hast thou that holy feeling in thy soul,
 { To counsel me to make my peace with God,
 { And art thou yet to thy own soul so blind,
 { That thou wilt war with God by murdering
 { me! — 260

{ O, sirs, consider, he that set you on

{ To do this deed will hate you for the deed.

{ *Sec. Murd.* What shall we do?

{ *Clar.* Relent, and save your souls.

{ *First Murd.* Relent! 't is cowardly and
 { womanish.

Clar. Not to relent is beastly, savage,
 devilish. — *

My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks; 270

O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,

Come thou on my side, and entreat for me:

A begging prince what beggar pities not?

First Murd. Ay, thus, and thus [*Stabs him*]:
 if all this will not do,

I'll drown you in the malmsay-butt within.

[*Exit, with the body.*]

Sec. Murd. A bloody deed, and desperately
 dispatch'd!

How fain, like Pilate, would I wash my hands
 Of this most grievous murder! 280

Re-enter First Murderer.

First Murd. How now! what mean'st thou,
 that thou help'st me not?

By heaven, the duke shall know how slack
 you've been.

Sec. Murd. I would he knew that I had
 sav'd his brother!

Take thou the fee, and tell him what I say;

For I repent me that the duke is slain. [*Exit.*]

First Murd. So do not I: go, coward as thou
 art. —

Well, I'll go hide the body in some hole,

Till that the duke¹ give order for his burial:

And when I have my meed,² I will away; 290

For this³ will out, and then I must not stay.

[*Exit.*]

ACT II.

SCENE I. *London. A room in the palace.*

*Enter KING EDWARD, enfeebled by illness, lean-
 ing on the arm of HASTINGS and RIVERS;
 QUEEN ELIZABETH, DORSET, BUCKING-
 HAM, GREY, and others.*

{ [*K. Edw.* Why, so; -- now have I done a good
 { day's work: —

{ You peers, continue this united league:

{ I every day expect an embassy

{ From my Redeemer to redeem me hence;

And now in peace my soul shall part⁴ to
 heaven,

Since I have mended my friends at peace on earth.

Rivers and Hastings, take each other's hand;

Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love.

Riv. By heaven, my soul is purg'd from
 grudging hate;

And with my hand I seal my true heart's
 love. 10

Hast. So thrive I, as I truly swear the like!

K. Edw. Take heed you dally⁵ not before
 your king;

* Lines 266-269, 273, and 275 Globe edn. omitted (See
 note 204d.)

¹ The duke, i.e. Gloster.

² Meed, reward.

³ This, i.e. this murder.

⁴ Part, depart.

⁵ Dally, trifle.

Lest he that is the supreme King of kings
 Confound your hidden falsehood, and award
 Either of you to be the other's end. 15

Hast. So prosper I, as I swear perfect love!

Riv. And I, as I love Hastings with my heart!

K. Edw. Madam, yourself are not exempt in this,—

Nor you, son Dorset,—Buckingham, nor you;— 19

You have been factious one against the other.

Wife, love Lord Hastings, let him kiss your hand;

And what you do, do it unfeignedly.

Q. Eliz. There, Hastings; I will never more remember

Our former hatred, so thrive I and mine!

K. Edw. Dorset, embrace him;—Hastings, love lord marquess.

Dor. This interchange of love, I here protest,

Upon my part shall be inviolable.

Hast. And so swear I. [*They embrace.*]

K. Edw. Now, princely Buckingham, seal thou this league

With thy embracements to my wife's allies, so
 And make me happy in your unity.

Buck. [*To the Queen*] Whenever Buckingham doth turn his hate

Upon your grace, but with all duteous love
 Doth cherish you and yours, God punish me
 With hate in those where I expect most love!

[*When I have most need to employ a friend,*

And most assured that he is a friend,

Deep, hollow, treacherous, and full of guile,

Be he unto me!—this do I beg of God,]

When I am cold in zeal to you or yours. 40

[*Embracing Rivers, &c.*

K. Edw. A pleasing cordial, princely Buckingham,

Is this thy vow unto my sickly heart.

There wanteth now our brother Gloster here,

To make the perfect period of this peace.

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the noble duke.

Enter GLOSTER, attended by RATCLIFF.

Glo. Good morrow to my sovereign king and queen;

And, princely peers, a happy time of day!

K. Edw. Happy, indeed, as we have spent the day.

Brother, we have done deeds of charity;

Made peace of enmity, fair love of hate, 50

Between these swelling wrong-incensed peers.

Glo. A blessed labour, my most sovereign liege.—

[*Among this princely heap, if any here,*

By false intelligence or wrong surmise,

Hold me a foe;

If I unwittingly, or in my rage,

Have aught committed that is hardly borne

By any in this presence, I desire

To reconcile me to his friendly peace:]

'Tis death to me to be at enmity; 60

I hate it, and desire all good men's love.—

[*First, madam, I entreat true peace of you,*

Which I will purchase with my duteous service;—

Of you, my noble cousin Buckingham,

If ever any grudge were lodg'd between us;—

Of you, Lord Rivers,—and, Lord Grey, of you,

That all without desert have frown'd on me;—

Dukes, earls, lords, gentlemen;—indeed, of all.]

I do not know that Englishman alive

With whom my soul is any jot at odds 70

More than the infant that is born to-night:—

I thank my God for my humility.

Q. Eliz. A holy day shall this be kept hereafter:—

I would to God all strifes were well compounded.—

My sovereign lord, I do beseech your highness

To take our brother Clarence to your grace.

Glo. Why, madam, have I offer'd love for this,

To be so flouted in this royal presence?

Who knows not that the gentle duke is dead?

[*They all start.*

You do him injury to scorn his corpse. 80

Riv. Who knows not he is dead! who knows he is?

Q. Eliz. All-seeing heaven, what a world is this!

Buck. Look I so pale, Lord Dorset, as the rest?

Dor. Ay, my good lord; and no man in this presence

But his red colour hath forsook his cheeks.

K. Edw. Is Clarence dead? the order was, revers'd.

Glo. But he, poor man, by your first order died,

that¹ a winged Mercury did bear;

Some tardy cripple bore the countermand,

[That came too lag² to see him buried. 90

God grant that some, less noble and less loyal,
Nearer in bloody thoughts, but not in blood,
Deserve not worse than wretched Clarence did,

And yet go current from suspicion!]

Enter STANLEY.

Stan. A boon, my sovereign, for my service done!

K. Edw. I pray thee, peace: my soul is full of sorrow.

Stan. I will not rise, unless your highness hear me.

K. Edw. Then say at once what is it thou request'st.

Stan. The forfeit,³ sovereign, of my servant's life;

Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman 100
Lately attendant on the Duke of Norfolk.

K. Edw. Have I a tongue to doom my brother's death,

And shall that tongue give pardon to a slave?
My brother kill'd no man,—his fault was thought,

And yet his punishment was bitter death.
Who su'd to me for him? who, in my wrath,
Kneel'd at my feet, and bade me be advis'd?

Who spoke of brotherhood? who spoke of love?
[Who told me how the poor soul did forsake
The mighty Warwick, and did fight for me?
Who told me, in the field at Tewksbury, 111
When Oxford had me down, he rescu'd me,
And said, "Dear brother, live, and be a king"?]

Who told me, when we both lay in the field
Frozen almost to death, how he did lap⁴ me
Even in his garments, and did give himself,
All thin and naked, to the numb cold night?

[All this from my remembrance brutish wrath
Sinfully pluck'd, and not a man of you

Had so much grace to put it in my mind. 120
But when your carters or your waiting-vassals
Have done a drunken slaughter, and defac'd
The precious image of our dear Redeemer,
You straight are on your knees for pardon,
pardon;

And I, unjustly too, must grant it you:—
But for my brother not a man would speak,—
Nor I, ungracious,⁵ speak unto myself
For him, poor soul.] The proudest of you all
Have been beholding to him in his life;
Yet none of you would once beg for his life.—
O God, I fear thy justice will take hold 131
On me, and you, and mine, and yours for this!—

Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.—

Ah, poor Clarence!

[*Exeunt King, Queen, Hastings, Rivers, Dorset, and Grey.*

Glo. This is the fruit of rashness!—Mark'd you not

How that the guilty kindred of the queen
Look'd pale when they did hear of Clarence death?

O, they did urge it still⁶ unto the king!
God will revenge it.—Come, lords, will you go,
[To comfort Edward with our company.] 140

Buck. We wait upon your grace. [*Exeunt.*

SCENE II. *The same. Another room in the palace.*

Enter the DUCHESS OF YORK, with a Son and Daughter of CLARENCE.

[*Son.* Good grandam, tell us, is our father dead?

Duch. No, boy.

Daugh. Why do you weep so oft, and beat your breast,

And cry, "O Clarence, my unhappy son!"

Son. Why do you look on us, and shake your head,

And call us orphans, wretches, castaways,
If that our noble father be alive?

Duch. My pretty cousins, you mistake me both;

I do lament the sickness of the king,

¹ *That*, i.e. the first order.

² *Forfeit*, the thing forfeited.

³ *Lag*, late.

⁴ *Lap*, wrap.

⁵ *Ungracious*, implous, without religious grace.

⁶ *Still*, constantly.

As loth to lose him, not your father's death; 10
It were lost sorrow to wail one that's lost.

Son. Then, grandam, you conclude that he
is dead.

The king my uncle is to blame for this:
God will revenge it; whom I will importune
With daily prayers¹ all to that effect.

Daugh. And so will I.

Duch. Peace, children, peace! the king doth
love you well:•
Incapable² and shallow innocents,
You cannot guess who caus'd your father's
death.

Son. Grandam, we can; for my good uncle
Gloster 20

Told me, the king, provok'd to it by the queen,
Devis'd impeachments to imprison him:
And when my uncle to'd me so, he wept,
And pitied me, and kindly kiss'd my cheek;
Bade me rely on him as on my father,
And he would love me dearly as his child.

Duch. Ah, that deceit should steal such
gentle shape,
And with a virtuous visor hide deep vice!
He is my son; ay, and therein my shame;

Yet from my dugs he drew not this deceit. 30

Son. Think you my uncle did dissemble,
grandam?

Duch. Ay, boy.

Son. I cannot think it.—Hark! what noise
is this?]

*Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH, distractedly; RIVERS
and DORSET following her.*

Q. Eliz. O, who shall hinder me to wail and
weep,

To chide my fortune, and torment myself?
I'll join with black despair against my soul,
And to myself become an enemy.

[*Duch.* What means this scene of rude im-
patience?

Q. Eliz. To make an act of tragic violence:—
Edward, my lord, thy son, our king, is dead!
Why grow the branches when the root is
gone? 41

Why wither not the leaves that want their
sap?

If you will live, lament; if die, be brief, 43
That our swift-winged souls may catch the
king's;

Or, like obedient subjects, follow him
To his new kingdom of perpetual rest.

Duch. Ah, so much interest have I in thy
sorrow

As I had title in thy noble husband!

I have bewept a worthy husband's death,
And liv'd by looking on his images; 50
But now two mirrors of his princely sem-
blance

Are crack'd in pieces by malignant death,
And I for comfort have but one false glass,³
That grieves me when I see my shame in him.
Thou art a widow; yet thou art a mother,
And hast the comfort of thy children left:
But death hath snatch'd my husband from
mine arms,

And pluck'd two crutches from my feeble
hands,—

Clarence and Edward. O, what cause have I—
Thine being but a moiety of my moan— 60
To over-go⁴ thy plaints and drown thy cries!

Son. Ah, aunt, you wept not for our father's
death!

How can we aid you with our kindred tears?

Daugh. Our fatherless distress was left un-
moan'd;

Your widow-dolour likewise be unwept!

Q. Eliz. Give me no help in lamentation;

I am not barren to bring forth complaints:
All springs reduce their currents to mine eyes,
That I, being govern'd by the watery moon,
May send forth plenteous tears to drown the
world! 70

Ah for my husband, for my dear lord Edward!

Children. Ah for our father, for our dear
lord Clarence!

Duch. Alas for both, both mine, Edward
and Clarence!

Q. Eliz. What stay had I but Edward? and
he's gone.

Children. What stay had we but Clarence?
and he's gone.

Duch. What stays had I but they? and
they are gone.

¹ Prayers, a dissyllable here.

² Incapable, unable to comprehend.

³ One false glass, i.e. her son Richard, Duke of Gloster.

⁴ To over-go, to exceed.

Q. Eliz. Was never widow had so dear¹ a loss!

Children. Were never orphans had so dear a loss!

Duch. Was never mother had so dear a loss!

Alas, I am the mother of these griefs! 80

Their woes are parcell'd,² mine is general.

She for an Edward weeps, and so do I;

I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she:

These babes for Clarence weep, and so do I;

I for an Edward weep, so do not they:—

Alas, you three, on me, threefold distress'd,

Pour all your tears! I am your sorrow's nurse,

And I will pamper it with lamentation.]

Dor. Comfort, dear mother: God is much displeas'd 89

That you take with unthankfulness his doing:
In common worldly things 't is call'd ungrateful

With dull unwillingness to repay a debt

Which with a bounteous hand was kindly lent;

Much more to be thus opposite with heaven,
For it requires the royal debt it lent you.

Riv. Madam, bethink you, like a careful mother,

Of the young prince your son: send straight for him;

Let him be crown'd; in him your comfort lives:

Drown desperate sorrow in dead Edward's grave,

And plant your joys in living Edward's throne. 100

Enter GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, RATCLIFF, and others.

Glo. [To Queen] Sister, have comfort: all of us have cause

To wail the dimming of our shining star;
But none can cure their harms by wailing them.—

[Madam, my mother, I do cry you mercy;
I did not see your grace:—humbly on my knee
I crave your blessing.

Duch. God bless thee; and put meekness in thy breast,

Love, charity, obedience, and true duty!

Glo. Amen;—[*Aside*] and make me die a good old man!—

That is the butt-end of a mother's blessing:
I marvel that her grace did leave it out.] 111

Buck. You cloudy princes and heart-sorrowing peers,

That bear this heavy mutual load of moan,

Now cheer each other in each other's love:

Though we have spent our harvest of this king,

We are to reap the harvest of his son.

The broken rancour of your high-swollen hearts,

But lately splinter'd,³ knit and join'd together,

Must gently be preserv'd, cherish'd, and kept:

Me seemeth good, that, with some little train,
Forthwith from Ludlow the young prince be fet⁴ 121

Hither to London, to be crown'd our king.

Riv. Why with some little train, my Lord of Buckingham?

Buck. Marry, my lord, lest, by a multitude,
The new-heal'd wound of malice should break out;

[Which would be so much the more dangerous
By how much the state's green and yet ungovern'd:

Where every horse bears his commanding rein,

And may direct his course as please himself,
As well the fear of harm as harm apparent,⁵
In my opinion, ought to be prevented.] 131

Glo. I hope the king made peace with all of us;

And the compact is firm and true in me.

Riv. And so in me; and so, I think, in all:

[Yet, since it is but green, it should be put
To no apparent likelihood of breach,
Which haply by much company might be urg'd:

Therefore I say with noble Buckingham,
That it is meet so few should fetch the prince.

Hast. And so say I.] 140

¹ Dear, used in a double sense—"beloved," of the person lost; "severe," of the loss itself.

² Parcell'd, i.e. divided amongst them; individual.

³ Splinter'd, i.e. "joined with splints," like a broken limb.

⁴ Fet, fetched.

⁵ Apparent, evident.

Glo. Then be it so; and go we to determine
Who they shall be that straight shall post to
Ludlow. 142

{ [*To Duchess*] Madam,—and you, my sister

[*To Queen*],—will you go

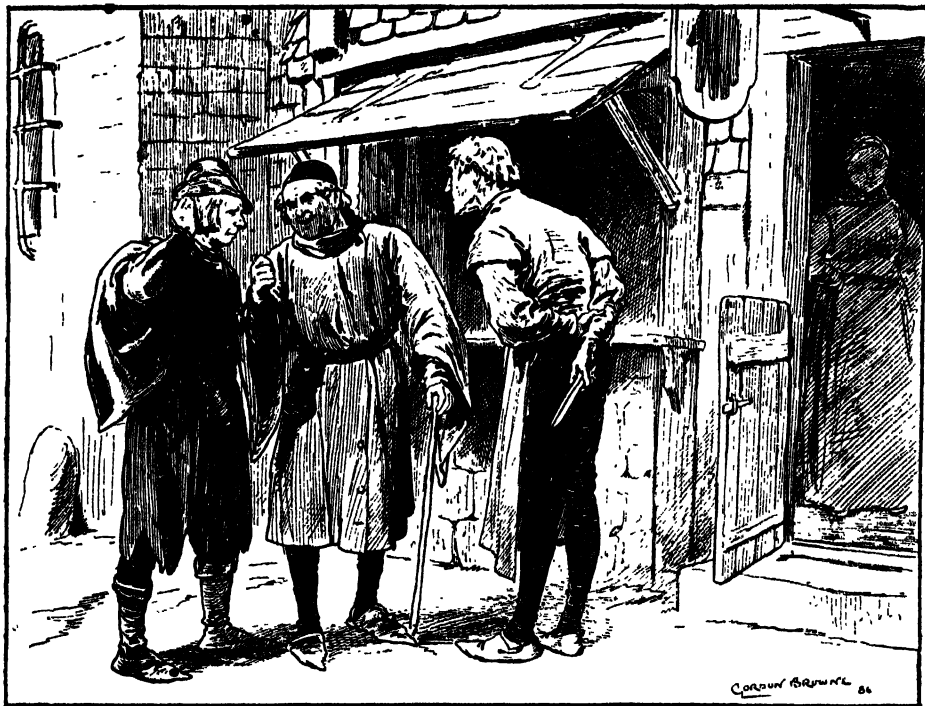
To give your censures¹ in this business?]

[*Exeunt all except Buckingham and Gloster.*

Buck. Mylord, whoever journeystothe prince,
For God's sake, let not us two stay at home;

• For, by the way, I'll sort² occasion,
As index³ to the story we late talk'd of,
To part the queen's proud kindred from the
prince. 149

Glo. My other self, my counsel's consistory,⁴
My oracle, my prophet!—my dear cousin,
I, as a child, will go by thy direction.
Toward Ludlow then, for we'll not stay be-
hind. [*Exeunt.*



Third Cit. Then, masters, look to see a troublous world.—(Act II. 3. 8.)

[SCENE III. *The same. A street.*

Enter two Citizens, meeting.

First Cit. Good morrow, neighbour: whither
away so fast?

Sec. Cit. I promise you I hardly know myself:

First Cit. Yes,—that the king is dead.

Hear you the news abroad?

Sec. Cit. Ill news, by'r lady; seldom comes
the better:

I fear, I fear 't will prove a giddy⁵ world.

Enter a third Citizen.

Third Cit. Neighbours, God speed!

First Cit. Give you good morrow, sir:

Third Cit. Doth the news hold of good
King Edward's death?

¹ Censures, opinions.

² Sort, contrive.

³ Index=prologue.

⁴ Consistory, properly=spiritual or ecclesiastical courts.

⁵ Giddy, unquiet.

Sec. Cit. Ay, sir, it is too true; God help,^c
the while!

Third Cit. Then, masters, look to see a
troublesome world.

First Cit. No, no; by God's good grace his
son shall reign. 10

Third Cit. Woe to that land that's govern'd
by a child!

Sec. Cit. In him there is a hope of govern-
ment,

Which,¹ in his nonage, council under him,
And, in his full and ripened years, himself,
No doubt, shall then, and till then, govern well.

First Cit. So stood the state when Henry²
the Sixth

Was crown'd in Paris but at nine months old.

Third Cit. Stood the state so? No, no,
good friends, God wot;³

For then this land was famously enrich'd
With politic grave counsel; then the king 20
Had virtuous uncles to protect his grace.

First Cit. Why, so hath this, both by his
father and mother.

Third Cit. Better it were they all came by
his father,

Or by his father there were none at all;
For emulation now, who shall be nearest,
Will touch us all too near, if God prevent not.
O, full of danger is the Duke of Gloster!
And the queen's sons and brothers haught⁴
and proud:

And were they to be rul'd, and not to rule,
This sickly land might solace⁵ as before. 30

First Cit. Come, come, we fear the worst;
all will be well.

Third Cit. When clouds are seen, wise men
put on their cloaks;

When great leaves fall, then winter is at hand;
When the sun sets, whodoth not look for night?
Untimely storms make men expect a dearth.
All may be well; but, if God sort⁶ it so,
'Tis more than we deserve, or I expect.

Sec. Cit. Truly, the hearts of men are full
of fear:

You cannot reason⁷ almost⁸ with a man
That looks not heavily and full of dread. 40

Third Cit. Before the days of change, still
is it so: 41

By a divine instinct men's minds mistrust
Ensuing⁹ dangers; as, by proof, we see
The water swell before a boisterous storm.
But leave it all to God.—Whither away?

Sec. Cit. Marry, we were sent for to the
justices.

Third Cit. And so was I: I'll bear you
company. [Exeunt.]

[SCENE IV. *The same. A room in the
palace.*

*Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, the young
DUKE OF YORK, QUEEN ELIZABETH, and
the DUCHESS OF YORK.*

Arch. Last night, I hear, they rested at
Northampton;

At Stony-Stratford they do lie to-night;
To-morrow, or next day, they will be here.

Duch. I long with all my heart to see the
prince:

I hope he is much grown since last I saw him.

Q. Eliz. But I hear, no; they say my son of
York

Has almost overta'en him in his growth.

York. Ay, mother; but I would not have
it so.

Duch. Why, my young cousin, it is good to
grow.

York. Grandam, one night, as we did sit at
supper, 10

My uncle Rivers talk'd how I did grow

More than my brother: "Ay," quoth my uncle
Gloster,

"Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow
apace:"

And since, methinks, I would not grow so fast,
Because sweet flowers are slow, and weeds
make haste.

Duch. Good faith, good faith, the saying did
not hold

In him that did object the same to thee:

He was the wretched¹⁰ thing when he was
young,

¹ Which, who. ² Henry, a trisyllable here.

³ God wot, God knows. ⁴ Haught, haughty. *

⁵ Solace=take comfort. ⁶ Sort, ordain.

⁷ Reason, converse. ⁸ Almost=even.

⁹ Ensuing, impending.

¹⁰ Wretched'st, most puny, most contemptible.

{ So long a-growing and so leisurely,
 { That, if his rule were true, he should be gra-
 cious. 20

Arch. And so, no doubt, he is, my gracious
 madam.

Duch. I hope he is; but yet let mothers
 doubt.

York. Now, by my troth, if I had been re-
 member'd,¹

I could have given my uncle's grace a flout,
 To touch his growth neater than he touch'd
 mine.

Duch. How, my young York? I prithee, let
 me hear it.

York. Marry, they say my uncle grew so
 fast

That he could gnaw a crust at two hours old:
 'T was full two years ere I could get a tooth.
 Grandam, this would have been a biting jest.

Duch. I prithee, pretty York, who told thee
 this? 31

York. Grandam, his nurse.

Duch. His nurse! why, she was dead ere
 thou wast born.

York. If 't were not she, I cannot tell who
 told me.

Q. Eliz. A parlous² boy:—go to, you are too
 shrewd.

Duch. Good madam, be not angry with the
 child.

Q. Eliz. Pitchers have ears.

Arch. Here comes a messenger.

Enter a Messenger.

What news?

Mess. Such news, my lord, as grieves me to
 report.

Q. Eliz. How doth the prince?

Mess. Well, madam, and in health.

Duch. What is thy news? 41

Mess. Lord Rivers and Lord Grey are sent
 to Pomfret,

With them Sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.

Duch. Who hath committed them?

Mess. The mighty dukes
 Gloster and Buckingham.

Q. Eliz. For what offence?

Mess. The sum of all I can I have dis-
 clos'd;

Why or for what these nobles were com-
 mitted

Is all unknown to me, my gracious lady.

Q. Eliz. Ay me, I see the ruin of my house!
 The tiger now hath seiz'd the gentle hind; 50
 Insulting tyranny begins to jet

Upon³ the innocent and aweless⁴ throne:—

Welcome, destruction, blood, and massacre!

I see, as in a map,⁵ the end of all.

Duch. Accursed and unquiet wrangling
 days,

How many of you have mine eyes beheld!

My husband lost his life to get the crown;

And often up and down my sons were toss'd,

For me to joy and weep their gain and loss:

And being seated, and domestic broils 60

Clean⁶ over-blown, themselves, the con-
 querors,

Make war upon themselves; brother to bro-
 ther,

Blood to blood, self against self:—O, prepos-
 terous

And frantic outrage, end thy damned spleen;
 Or let me die, to look on earth no more!

Q. Eliz. Come, come, my boy; we will to
 sanctuary.—

Madam, farewell.

Duch. Stay, I will go with you.

Q. Eliz. You have no cause.

Arch. [To the Queen] My gracious lady, go;
 And thither bear your treasure and your
 goods.

For my part, I'll resign unto your grace 70

The seal I keep: and so betide to me

As well I tender you and all of yours!

Come, I'll conduct you to the sanctuary.

[Exeunt.]

¹ Had been remember'd, i.e. "had had my wits about me."

² Parlous, dangerous (corrupted from "perilous").

³ To jet upon—to insult.

⁴ Aweless, i.e. inspiring no awe.

⁵ Map=picture.

⁶ Clean=completely.

ACT III.

SCENE I. *London. A street.*

The trumpets sound. Enter the PRINCE OF WALES, GLOSTER, BUCKINGHAM, CARDINAL BOURCHIER, CATESBY, and others.

[*Buck.* Welcome, sweet prince, to London, to your chamber.¹]

Glo. Welcome, dear cousin,² my thoughts' sovereign:

The weary way hath made you melancholy.

Prince. No, uncle; but our crosses on the way

Have made it tedious, wearisome, and heavy: I want more uncles here to welcome me.

Glo. [Sweet prince, th' untainted virtue of your years

Hath not yet div'd into the world's deceit;

Nor more can you distinguish of a man

Than of his outward show; which, God he knows, 10

Seldom or never jumpeth with the heart.]

Those uncles which you want were dangerous; Your grace attended to their sugar'd words, But look'd not on the poison of their hearts: God keep you from them, and from such false friends!

Prince. [*Aside*] God keep me from false friends! but they were none.

[*Glo.* My lord, the mayor of London comes to greet you.

Enter the Lord Mayor and his Train.

May. God bless your grace with health and happy days!

Prince. I thank you, good my lord;—and thank you all. 10

[*Mayor and his Train retire.*]

I thought my mother, and my brother York, Would long ere this have met us on the way: Fie, what a slug³ is Hastings, that he comes not to tell us whether they will come or no!

Buck. And, in good time, here comes the sweating lord.

Enter HASTINGS.

Prince. Welcome, my lord: what, will our mother come? 25

Hast. On what occasion, God he knows, not I,

The queen your mother, and your brother York,

Have taken sanctuary: the tender prince

Would fain have come with me to meet your grace, 20

But by his mother was perforce⁴ withheld.

Buck. Fie, what an indirect and peevish⁵ course

Is this of hers!—Lord cardinal, will your grace

Persuade the queen to send the Duke of York Unto his princely brother presently?

If she deny,⁶—Lord Hastings, go with him,

And from her jealous arms pluck him perforce.

[*Card.* My Lord of Buckingham, if my weak oratory

Can from his mother win the Duke of York,

Expect him here; but if she be obdurate

To mild entreaties, God in heaven forbid 40

We should infringe the holy privilege

Of blessed sanctuary! not for all this land

Would I be guilty of so great a sin.

Buck. You are too senseless-obstinate,⁷ my lord,

Too ceremonious and traditional:

Weigh it but with the grossness of this age,

You break not sanctuary in seizing him.

The benefit thereof is always granted

To those whose dealings have deserv'd the place,

And those who have the wit to claim the place:

This prince hath neither claim'd it nor deserv'd it; 51

Therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it:

Then, taking him from thence that is not there,

You break no privilege nor charter there.

Oft have I heard of sanctuary-men;

But sanctuary-children ne'er till now.

¹ Chamber, i.e. camera regia, the "king's chamber," a name given to the metropolis.

² Cousin = kinsman.

³ Slug, sluggard.

⁴ Perforce, forcibly.

⁵ Peevish, capricious.

⁶ Deny, refuse.

⁷ Senseless-obstinate, i.e. unreasonably obstinate.

Card. My lord, you shall o'er-rule my mind
for once.—

Come on, Lord Hastings, will you go with me?

Hast. I go, my lord.

Prince. Good lords, make all the speedy
haste you may.] 60

[*Exeunt Cardinal and Hastings.*

Say, uncle Gloster, if our brother come,
Where shall we sojourn till our coronation?

Glo. Where it seems best unto your royal self.

If I may counsel you, some day or two
Your highness shall repose you¹ at the Tower;
Then where you please, and shall be thought
most fit

For your best health and recreation.

Prince. I do not like the Tower, of any
place.²—

[*Did Julius Cæsar build that place, my lord?*



Glo. Welcome, dear cousin, my thoughts' sovereign.—(Act III. 1. 2.)

Buck. He did, my gracious lord, begin that
place; 70

Which, since, succeeding ages have re-edified.

Prince. Is it upon record, or else reported
Successively from age to age, he built it?

Buck. Upon record, my gracious lord.

Prince. But say, my lord, it were not register'd,
Methinks the truth should live from age to age,
As 't were retail'd³ to all posterity,
Even to the general all-ending day.

Glo. [*Aside*] So wise so young, they say, do
ne'er live long.

Prince. What say you, uncle? 80

Glo. I say, without charácters,⁴ fame lives
long.—

[*Aside*] Thus, like the formal Vice,⁵ Iniquity,
I moralize two meanings in one word.

Prince. That Julius Cæsar was a famous
man;

¹ *Repose you*, rest yourself.

² *Of any place*, i.e. of all places.

³ *Retail'd*=retold.

⁴ *Without charácters*, i.e. without being preserved in written characters.

⁵ *Vice*, i.e. the fool, a chief comic character in the old interludes.

With what his valour did enrich his wit, 85
His wit set down to make his valour live:
Death makes no conquest of this conqueror;
For now he lives in fame, though not in life.—

I'll tell you what, my cousin Buckingham,—

Buck. What, my gracious lord? 90

Prince. An if I live until I be a man,
I'll win our ancient right in France again,
Or die a soldier, as I liv'd a king.

Glo. [*Aside*] Short summers lightly¹ have a
forward spring.

Buck. Now, in good time,² here comes the
Duke of York.

Enter YORK, with the CARDINAL and HASTINGS.

Prince. Richard of York! how fares our
noble brother?

York. Well, my dear lord; so must I call
you now.

Prince. Ay, brother,—to our grief, as it is
yours:

Too late³ he died that might have kept that
title, 99

Which by his death hath lost much majesty.

Glo. How fares our cousin, noble Lord of
York?

York. I thank you, gentle uncle. O, my lord,
You said that idle weeds are fast in growth:
The prince my brother hath outgrown me far.

Glo. He hath, my lord.

York. And therefore is he idle?

Glo. O, my fair cousin, I must not say so.

York. Then is he more beholding⁴ to you
than I.

Glo. He may command me as my sovereign;
But you have power in me as in a kinsman.

York. I pray you, uncle, give me this—
[*playing with Gloster's swordbelt—then
touching the dagger*] this dagger. 110

Glo. My dagger, little cousin? with all my
heart.

Prince. A beggar, brother?

York. Of my kind uncle, that I know will
give't,

Being but a toy, which is no grief to give.⁵

¹ *Lightly* = commonly.

² *In good time*, happily.

³ *Late* = recently.

⁴ *Beholding* = beholden, i.e. under obligation.

⁵ *Which is no grief to give*, i.e. which it causes no regret
to give away.

Glo. A greater gift than that I'll give my
cousin. 115

York. A greater gift!—O, that's the sword
to it.

Glo. Ay, gentle cousin, were it light enough.

York. O, then, I see you'll part but with
light gifts;

In weightier things you'll say a beggar nay.

Glo. It is too heavy for your grace to wear.

York. I weigh it lightly,⁶ were it heavier.

Glo. What, would you have my weapon,
little lord? 122

York. I would, that I might thank you as—
as—you call me.

Glo. How?

York. Little.

Prince. My Lord of York will still be cross
in talk:—

Uncle, your grace knows how to bear with him.

York. You mean, to bear me, not to bear
with me:—

Uncle, my brother mocks both you and me;

Because that I am little, like an ape, 130

He thinks that you should bear me on your
shoulders.

[*Buck. [Aside to Hastings]* With what a
sharp provided⁷ wit he reasons!

To mitigate the scorn he gives his uncle,

He prettily and aptly taunts himself:

So cunning and so young is wonderful.]

Glo. My lord, will't please you pass along?

Myself and my good cousin Buckingham

Will to your mother, to entreat of her

To meet you at the Tower and welcome you.

York. What, will you go unto the Tower,
my lord? 140

Prince. My lord protector needs will have
it so.

York. I shall not sleep in quiet at the Tower.

Glo. Why, what should you fear?

York. Marry, my uncle Clarence' angry
ghost: 145

My grandam told me he was murder'd there.

Prince. I fear no uncles dead.

Glo. Nor none that live, I hope.

Prince. An if they live, I hope I need not
fear.

⁶ *I weigh it lightly*, i.e. I set little value on it.

⁷ *Provided* = furnished beforehand, or perhaps = well-
equipped.

But come, my lord; and with a heavy heart,
Thinking on them, go I unto the Tower. 150

[*Sennet. Exeunt Prince, York, Hastings,
Cardinal, and others; also the Lord
Mayor and his Train.*]

Buck. Think you, my lord, this little prating
York

Was not incensed¹ by his subtle mother
To taunt and scorn you thus opprobriously?

Glo. No doubt, no doubt: O, 't is a parlous²
boy,

Bold, quick, ingenious, forward, capable:³
He's all the mother's, from the top to toe.

Buck. Well, let them rest.—Come hither,
Catesby.

Thou'rt sworn as deep to effect what we intend
As closely to conceal what we impart:
Thou know'st our reasons urg'd upon the
way;— 160

What think'st thou? is it not an easy matter
To make Lord William Hastings of our mind,
For the instalment of this noble duke
In the seat royal of this famous isle?

Cate. He for his father's sake so loves the
prince,

That he will not be won to aught against him.

Buck. What think'st thou, then, of Stanley?
will not he?

Cate. He will do all in all as Hastings doth.

Buck. Well, then, no more but this: go,
gentle Catesby,

And, as it were far off, sound thou Lord Has-
tings, 170

How he doth stand affected to our purpose;
And summon him to-morrow to the Tower,
To sit about the coronation

[If thou dost find him tractable to us,
Encourage him, and tell him all our reasons:

If he be leaden, icy-cold, unwilling,
Be thou so too; and so break off your talk,
And give us notice of his inclination:

For we to-morrow hold divided councils,
Wherein thyself shalt highly be employ'd.]

Glo. Commend me to Lord William: tell
him, Catesby, 181

His ancient knot of dangerous adversaries
To-morrow are let blood at Pomfret Castle;

And bid my lord, for joy of this good news,
Give Mistress Shore one gentle kiss the more.

Buck. Good Catesby, go, effect this business
soundly. 186

Cate. My good lords both, with all the heed
I can.

Glo. Shall we hear from you, Catesby, ere
we sleep?

Cate. You shall, my lord.

Glo. At Crosby Place, there shall you find
us both. [*Exit Catesby.*]

Buck. My lord, what shall we do, if we per-
ceive 191

Lord Hastings will not yield to our complots?⁴

Glo. Chop off his head,—something we will
determine;

And, look, when I am king, claim thou of me
Th' earldom of Hereford, and the moveables
Whereof the king my brother stood possess'd.

Buck. I'll claim that promise at your grace's
hand.

Glo. And look to have it yielded with all
kindness.

Come, let us sup betimes, that afterwards
We may digest our complots in some form.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE II. Before Lord Hastings' house.

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My lord! my lord!— [*Knocking.*]

Hast. [*Within*] Who knocks?

Mess. One from the Lord Stanley.

Hast. [*Within*] What is't o'clock?

Mess. Upon the stroke of four.

Enter HASTINGS.

Hast. Cannot thy master sleep these tedious
nights?

Mess. So it appears by that I have to say.

First, he commends him to your noble self.

Hast. What then?

Mess. Then certifies your lordship, that this
night 10

He dreamt the boar had ras'd⁵ off his helm:

[Besides, he says there are two councils held;

And that may be determin'd at the one

Which may make you and him to rue at the
other.]

¹ Incensed, instigated. ² Parlous, dangerous.

³ Capable, i.e. of good capacity; intelligent.

⁴ Complots, concerted plans.

⁵ Ras'd = torn.

Therefore he sends to know your lordship's
pleasure,--

If presently you will take horse with him,

15



Hast. Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?

Mess. So it appears by that I have to say.—(Act iii. 2. 6, 7.)

And with all speed post with him toward the
north,

To shun the danger that his soul divines.

Hast. Go, fellow, go, return unto thy lord;

138

[Bid him not fear the separated councils: 20
His honour and myself are at the one,
And at the other is my good friend Catesby;
Where nothing can proceed that toucheth us
Whereof I shall not have intelligence.]

Tell him his fears are shallow, without in-
stance:¹

And for his dreams, I wonder he's so simple
To trust the mockery of unquiet slumbers:

To fly the boar before the boar pursues,
Were to incense the boar to follow us,

And make pursuit where he did mean no chase.

Go, bid thy master rise and come to me; 31

And we will both together to the Tower,

Where he shall see the boar will use us kindly.

Mess. I'll go, my lord, and tell him what
you say. [Exit.

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. Many good morrows to my noble lord!

Hast. Good morrow, Catesby; you are early
stirring:

What news, what news, in this our tottering
state?

Cate. It is a reeling world, indeed, my lord;
And I believe will never stand upright

Till Richard wear the garland of the realm.² 40

Hast. How! wear the garland! dost thou
mean the crown?

Cate. Ay, my good lord.

Hast. I'll have this crown of mine cut from
my shoulders

Before I'll see the crown so foul misplac'd.

But canst thou guess that he doth aim at it?

Cate. Ay, on my life; and hopes to find you
forward

Upon his party³ for the gain thereof:

And thereupon he sends you this good news,—

That this same very day your enemies, 40

The kindred of the queen, must die at Pomfret.

Hast. Indeed, I am no mourner for that news,

Because they have been still⁴ my adversaries:

But, that I'll give my voice on Richard's side,

To bar my master's heirs in true descent,
God knows I will not do it to the death.⁵

¹ Without instance, i.e. without ground, or cause.

² The garland of the realm, i.e. the crown.

³ Party, side.

⁴ Still, constantly.

⁵ To the death, i.e. even if death is the punishment for not doing it.

Cate. God keep your lordship in that gracious mind!

Hast. But I shall laugh at this a twelve-month hence,—

That they who brought me in¹ my master's hate,
I live to look upon their tragedy. 59

Well, Catesby, ere² a fortnight make me older,
I'll send some packing that yet think not on 't.

Cate. 'Tis a vile thing to die, my gracious lord,

When men are unprepar'd and look not for it.

Hast. O monstrous, monstrous! and so falls it out

With Rivers, Vaughan,³ Grey: and so 'twill do
With some men else, that think themselves as safe

As thou and I; who, as thou know'st, are dear
To princely Richard and to Buckingham. 70

Cate. The princes both make high account
of you,—

[*Aside*] For they account his head upon the bridge.³

Hast. I know they do; and I have well deserv'd it.

Enter STANLEY.

Come on, come on; where is your boar-spear,
man?

Fear you the boar, and go so unprovided?

Stan. My lord, good morrow;—good morrow,
Catesby:—

You may jest on, but, by the holy rood,⁴
I do not like these several councils, I.

Hast. My lord,

I hold my life as dear as you do yours; 80

And never in my days, I do protest,

Was it more precious to me than 't is now;

Think you, but that I know our state secure,

I would be so triumphant as I am?

Stan. The lords at Pomfret, when they rode
from London,

Were jocund, and suppos'd their states were
sure,—

[*And they, indeed, had no cause to mistrust:*

But yet, you see, how soon the day o'ercast.

This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt:⁶]

¹ In=into. ² Vaughan, pronounced as a dissyllable.

³ The bridge, i.e. London Bridge, where the heads of traitors were exposed.

⁴ The holy rood, i.e. the crucifix. ⁵ Misdoubt, mistrust.

Pray God, I say, I prove a needless coward!
What, shall we toward the Tower? the day is spent. 91

Hast. Come, come, have with you.⁶—Wot'
you what, my lord?

To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded.

Stan. They, for their truth, might better
wear their heads

Than some that have accus'd them wear their
hats.—

But come, my lord, let us away.

[*Enter a Pursuivant.*

Hast. Go on before; I'll talk with this good
fellow. [*Exeunt Stanley and Catesby.*

How now, sirrah! how goes the world with thee?

Purs. The better that your lordship please
to ask.

Hast. I tell thee, man, 't is better with me now
Than when thou mett'st me last where now we
meet: 101

Then was I going prisoner to the Tower,

By the suggestion⁸ of the queen's allies;

But now, I tell thee—keep it to thyself—

This day those enemies are put to death,

And I in better state than e'er I was.

Purs. God hold it, to your honour's good
content!

Hast. Gramercy,⁹ fellow: there, drink that
for me. [*Throwing him his purse.*

Purs. God save your lordship! [*Exit.*

Enter a Priest.

Pr. Well met, my lord; I'm glad to see your
honour. 110

Hast. I thank thee, good Sir John, with all
my heart.

I'm in your debt for your last exercise;

Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you.

[*They confer privately in whispers.*]

Enter BUCKINGHAM.

Buck. [*After watching Hastings and Priest*]
What, talking with a priest, lord chamberlain!

Your friends at Pomfret, they do need the
priest;

Your honour hath no shriving work in hand.

⁶ Have with you, let me have (keep) with you=come
along. ⁷ Wot, know. ⁸ Suggestion, instigation.

⁹ Gramercy, from Fr. *grand merci*=much thanks.

Hast. Good faith, and when I met this holy man,
The men you talk of came into my mind.—
What, go you toward the Tower?

Buck. I do, my lord; but long I cannot stay
there: 120

I shall return before your lordship thence.

Hast. Nay, like enough, for I stay dinner
there. 122

Buck. [*Aside*] And supper too, although thou
know'st it not.—

Come, will you go?

Hast. I'll wait upon your lordship. [*Exeunt.*]



Riv. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody prison
Fatal and ominous to noble peers!—(Act III. 3. 8, 9.)

[SCENE III. *Pomfret.* Before the castle.

*Enter RATCLIFF, with a guard, conducting
RIVERS, GREY, and VAUGHAN to execution.*

Riv. Sir Richard Ratcliff, let me tell you
this,—

To-day shalt thou behold a subject die
For truth, for duty, and for loyalty.

Grey. God keep the prince from all the pack
of you!

A knot you are of damned blood-suckers.

Vaugh. You live that shall cry woe for this
hereafter.

Rat. Dispatch; the limit of your lives is out.

Riv. O Pomfret, Pomfret! O thou bloody
prison,

Fatal and ominous to noble peers!

Within the guilty closure¹ of thy walls 10
Richard the Second here was hack'd to death;
And, for more slander to thy dismal seat,
We give thee up our guiltless blood to drink.

Grey. Now Margaret's curse is fall'n upon
our heads,

When she exclaim'd on Hastings, you, and I,
For standing by when Richard stabb'd her son.

¹ *Closure* = *inclosure*.

Riv. Then curs'd she Richard too; then
curs'd she Buckingham,

Then curs'd she Hastings:—O, remember, God,
To hear her prayer for them, as now for us!
And for my sister and her princely sons, 20
Be satisfied, dear God, with our true blood,
Which, as thou know'st, unjustly must be spilt.

Rat. Make haste; the hour of death is ex-
piate.¹

Riv. Come, Grey,—come, Vaughan,—let us
here embrace:

{ Farewell, until we meet again in heaven.

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *London. A room in the Tower.*

BUCKINGHAM, STANLEY, HASTINGS, the Bishop
of Ely, RATCLIFF, LOVEL, and others, sit-
ting at a table; Officers of the Council
attending.

Hast. Now, noble peers, the cause why we
are met

Is, to determine of the coronation.

In God's name, speak,—when is the royal day?

Buck. Is all things² ready for the royal time?

Stan. It is; and wants but nomination.³

Ely. To-morrow, then, I judge a happy day.

Buck. Who knows the lord protector's mind
herein?

Who is most inward with⁴ the noble duke?

Ely. Your grace, we think, should soonest
know his mind.

{ *Buck.* [We know each other's faces: for our
hearts, 10

He knows no more of mine than I of yours;

{ Or I of his, my lord, than you of mine.—]

Lord Hastings, you and he are near in love.

Hast. I thank his grace, I know he loves
me well;

But, for his purpose in the coronation,
I have not sounded him, nor he deliver'd
His gracious pleasure any way therein: 18

But you, my noble lords, may name the time;
And in the duke's behalf I'll give my voice,
Which, I presume, he'll take in gentle part.

¹ *Expiate*, i.e. on the point of expiring.

² *All things*, here=everything.

³ *Wants but nomination*, i.e. only wants the day to be
named.

⁴ *Inward with*=intimate with, in the confidence of.

Ely. In happy time, here comes the duke
himself. 22

Enter GLOSTER.

Glo. My noble lords and cousins all, good
morrow.

I have been long a sleeper: but, I trust,
My absence doth neglect no great design,
Which by my presence might have been con-
cluded.

Buck. Had you not come upon your cue,
my lord,

William Lord Hastings had pronounc'd your
part,—

I mean, your voice,—for crowning of the king.

Glo. Than my Lord Hastings no man might
be bolder; 30

His lordship knows me well, and loves me
well.—

[My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,]
I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
I do beseech you send for some of them.

Ely. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my
heart. [*Exit.*]

Glo. Cousin of Buckingham, a word with
you. [*Takes him aside.*

Catesby hath sounded Hastings in our busi-
ness,

And finds the testy gentleman so hot,
That he will lose his head ere give consent 40
His master's child, as worshipful⁵ he terms it,
Shall lose the royalty of England's throne.

Buck. Withdraw yourself awhile; I'll go
with you.

[*Exit Gloster, followed by Buckingham.*

{ *Stan.* We have not yet set down this day
of triumph.

To-morrow, in my judgment, is too sudden;
For I myself am not so well provided
As else I would be, were the day prolong'd.⁶ 50

Re-enter BISHOP OF ELY.

Ely. Where is my lord the Duke of Gloster?
I have sent for these strawberries.]

Hast. His grace looks cheerfully and smooth
to-day; 50

There's some conceit or other likes him well,

⁵ *Worshipful*, used adverbially.

⁶ *Prolong'd*, postponed.

When he doth bid good-morrow with such
spirit. #2

I think there's ne'er a man in Christendom
Can lesser hide his love or hate than he;
For by his face straight shall you know his
heart.

Stan. What of his heart perceive you in his
face

By any likelihood¹ he show'd to-day?

Hast. Marry, that with no man here he's
offended; 59

For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.

Re-enter GLOSTER and :

Glo. I pray you all, tell me what they de-
serve



Hast. O bloody Richard!—miserable England!—(Act iii. 4 105.)

That do conspire my death with devilish plots
Of damned witchcraft, and that have prevail'd
Upon my body with their hellish charms?

Hast. The tender love I bear your grace,
my lord, 64
Makes me most forward in this noble presence
To doom th' offenders: whose'er they be,
I say, my lord, they have deserved death.

Glo. Then be your eyes the witness of their
evil: 69

Look how I am bewitch'd; behold mine arm
Is, like a blasted sapling, wither'd up: .
And this is Edward's wife, that monstrous
witch,

Consorted² with that harlot strumpet Shore,
That by their witchcraft thus have marked me.

¹ *Likelihood, appearance, manifest sign.*

² *Consorted, associated.*

Hast. If they have done this thing, my gracious lord,—

Glo. If! thou protector of this damned strumpet,

Talk'st thou to me of "ifs"? Thou art a traitor:—

Off with his head!—now, by Saint Paul, I swear I will not dine until I see the same.— 79

Lovel and Ratcliff, look that it be done:—

The rest, that love me, rise and follow me.

[*Exeunt all, except Hastings, Lovel, and Ratcliff.*]

Hast. Woe, woe for England! not a whit for me;

For I, too fond,¹ might have prevented this.

[*Stanley did dream the boar did rase² his helm; And I did scorn it, and disdain to fly:*

Three times to-day my foot-cloth horse did stumble,

And started when he look'd upon the Tower, As loth to bear me to the slaughter-house.

O, now I need the priest that spake to me:

I now repent I told the pursuivant, 90

As too triumphing, how mine enemies

To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd,

And I myself secure in grace and favour.

O Margaret, Margaret, now thy heavy curse Is lighted on³ poor Hastings' wretched head!

Rat. Come, come, dispatch; the duke would be at dinner:

Make a short shrift; he longs to see your head.

Hast.] O momentary grace of mortal men,

Which we more hunt for than the grace of God!

Who builds his hope in air of your good looks,

Lives like a drunken sailor on a mast, 101

Ready, with every rod, to tumble down

Into the fatal bowels of the deep.

Lov. Come, come, dispatch; 't is bootless to exclaim.

Hast. [O bloody Richard!—miserable England!

I prophesy the fearfull'st time to thee

That ever wretched age hath look'd upon.—]

Come, lead me to the block; bear him my head:

They smile at me, who shortly shall be dead.⁴

[*Exeunt.*]

¹ Fond, foolish.

² Rase, tear with his tusks.

³ Is lighted on, has fallen on.

⁴ They smile, &c., i.e. they who shortly shall be dead themselves, now smile at me.

• SCENE V. *The same. The Tower-walls.*

Enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM, in rusty armour, marvellous ill-favoured.

Glo. Come, cousin, canst thou quake, and change thy colour,

Murder thy breath in middle of a word,

And then begin again, and stop again,

As if thou wert distraught⁵ and mad with terror?

Buck. Tut, I can counterfeit the deep tragedian;

Speak and look back, and pry on every side,

Tremble and start at wagging of a straw,

Intending⁶ deep suspicion: ghastly looks

Are at my service, like enforced smiles;

And both are ready in their offices, 10

At any time, to grace my stratagems.

But what, is Catesby gone?

Glo. He is; and, see, he brings the mayor along.

Enter the Lord Mayor and CATESBY.

Buck. Lord mayor,—

Glo. Look to the drawbridge there!

[*Drums heard without.*]

Buck. Hark! a drum.

Glo. Catesby, o'erlook the walls.

Buck. Lord mayor, the reason we have sent for you,—

Glo. [Looking over the walls] Look back, defend thee,—here are enemies.

Buck. God and our innocence defend and guard us! 20

Glo. Be patient, they are friends,—Ratcliff and Lovel.

Enter LOVEL and RATCLIFF, with HASTINGS' head.

[*Lov.* Here is the head of that ignoble traitor, The dangerous and unsuspected Hastings.] }

Glo. So dear I lov'd the man, that I must weep.

I took him for the plainest harmless creature

That breath'd upon the earth a Christian;

[*Made him my book, wherein my soul recorded The history of all her secret thoughts:* }

⁵ Distraught, distracted.

⁶ Intending=pretending, simulating.

So smooth he daub'd his vice with show of
virtue,

That, his apparent¹ open guilt omitted,— 30
I mean, his conversation² with Shore's wife,—
He liv'd from all attainder³ of suspect.⁴]

Buck. Well, well, he was the covert⁵st shelter'd⁵ traitor

That ever liv'd.—Look you, my Lord mayor,
Would you imagine, or almost⁶ believe,—

Were't not that, by great preservation,
We live to tell it you,—the subtle traitor
This day had plotted, in the council-house,
To murder me and my good Lord of Gloster?
May. Had he done so? 40

Glo. What, think you we are Turks or
infidels?

Or that we would, against the form of law,
Proceed thus rashly in the villain's death,



Glo. So dear I lov'd the man, that I must weep.—(Act iii. 5. 24.)

But that the extreme peril of the case, 44
The peace of England and our persons' safety,
Enforc'd us to this execution?

May. Now, fair befall you! he deserv'd his
death;

[And your good graces both have well pro-
ceeded,

To warn false traitors from the like attempts.

Buck. I never look'd for better at his hands,
After he once fell in with Mistress Shore. 51

Glo. Yet had we not determin'd he should
die,

Until your lordship came to see his end;
Which now the loving haste of these our friends,
Somewhat against our meaning, have pre-
vented;

Because, my lord, we would have had you heard⁷

¹ Apparent, manifest.

² Conversation, intercourse.

³ Attainder, taint.

⁴ Suspect, suspicion.

⁵ Covert⁵st shelter'd, most secretly hidden. ⁶ Almost, even.

⁷ Would have had you heard, i.e. would have wished you to hear.

The traitor speak, and timorously confess
The manner and the purpose of his treasons;
That you might well have signified the same
Unto the citizens, who haply may 60
Misconstrue us in him, and wail his death.

May. But, my good lord, your grace's word
shall serve,

As well as I¹ had seen, and heard him speak;]
And do not doubt, right noble princes both,
But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens
With all your just proceedings in this case.

[*Glo.* And to that end we wish'd your lord-
ship here,

T² avoid the censures of the carping world.

Buck. But since you come too late of our
intent,²

Yet witness what you hear we did intend: 70
And so, my good lord mayor, we bid farewell.]

[*Exit Lord Mayor.*

Glo. Go, after, after, cousin Buckingham.

The mayor towards Guildhall hies him in all
post:³—

There, at your meetest vantage of the time,
Infer⁴ the bastardy of Edward's children:

[Tell them how Edward put to death a citizen,
Only for saying he would make his son
Heir to the crown; meaning, indeed, his house,
Which, by the sign thereof, was termed so.]

Moreover, urge his hateful luxury,⁵ 80
And bestial appetite in change of lust;

[Which stretch'd unto their servants, daugh-
ters, wives,

Even where his raging eye or savage heart,
Without control, lusted to make a prey.]

Nay, for a need, thus far come near my
person:—

Tell them, when that my mother went with
child

Of that insatiable Edward, noble York
My princely father then had wars in France;
And, by true computation of the time,
Found that the issue was not his begot; 90
Which well appeared in his lineaments,
Being nothing like the noble duke my father:
Yet touch this sparingly, as 't were far off;
Because, my lord, you know my mother lives.

* *Buck.* Doubt not, my lord, I'll play the orator
As if the golden fee for which I plead
Were for myself: and so, my lord, adieu.

Glo. If you thrive well, bring them to Bay-
nard's Castle;

Where you shall find me well accompanied 99
With reverend fathers and well-learned bishops.

Buck. I go; and towards three or four o'clock
Look for the news that the Guildhall affords.

[*Exit.*

Glo. Go, Lovel, with all speed to Doctor
Shaw,—

[To *Catesby*] Go thou to Friar Penker;—bid
them both

Meet me within this hour at Baynard's Castle.

[*Exeunt Lovel, Catesby, and Ratcliff.*

Now will I in, to take some privy order,
To draw the brats of Clarence out of sight;
And to give notice that no manner person⁶
Have any time recourse unto the princes.

[*Exit.*

[SCENE VI. *The same. A street.*

Enter a Scrivener.

Scriv. Here is th' indictment of the good
Lord Hastings;

Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd,
That it may be to-day read o'er in Paul's.
And mark how well the sequel hangs to-
gether:—

Eleven hours I have spent to write it over,
For yesternight by Catesby was it sent me;
The precedent⁷ was full as long a-doing:
And yet within these five hours Hastings
liv'd,

Untainted,⁸ unexamined, free, at liberty.
Here's a good world the while! Why, who's
so gross⁹ 10

That cannot see this palpable device?

Yet who so bold but says he sees it not?

Bad is the world; and all will come to naught
When such ill dealing must be seen in
thought.¹⁰] [*Exit.*

⁶ No manner person = no manner of person.

⁷ Precedent, i.e. the first draft of the indictment.

⁸ Untainted, uncharged with any crime.

⁹ Gross, dull.

¹⁰ Seen in thought, i.e. in silence, without taking any
visible notice of it.

¹ As I = as if I. ² Of our intent = for our purpose.

³ In all post, i.e. in all haste; as we say "post haste."

⁴ Infer, allege by inference, insinuate.

⁵ Luxury, i.e. lasciviousness, profligacy.

SCENE VII. *The same. Court of Baynard's Castle.*

Enter, from the castle, GLOSTER, and, from another door, BUCKINGHAM, meeting him.

Glo. How now, how now! what say the citizens?



Scris. Here is th' indictment of the good Lord Hastings Which in a set hand fairly is engross'd.—(Act iii. s. 1, 2.)

Buck. Now, by the holy mother of our Lord, The citizens are mum, say not a word.

Glo. Touch'd you the bastardy of Edward's children?

Buck. I did; with his contract with Lady Lucy,

And his contract by deputy in France;
[Th' insatiate greediness of his desires,
And his enforcement of the city wives;
His tyranny for trifles; his own bastardy,—
As being got, your father then in France, 10
And his resemblance, being not like the duke:
Withal I did infer your lineaments,—
Being the right idea of your father,
Both in your form and nobleness of mind;]
Laid open all your victories in Scotland,
Your discipline in war, wisdom in peace,
Your bounty, virtue, fair humility;
Indeed, left nothing fitting for your purpose
Untouch'd, or slightly handled, in discourse:
And when my oratory drew toward end, 20
I bade them that did love their country's good
Cry, "God save Richard, England's royal king!"

Glo. And did they so?

Buck. No, so God help me, they spake not a word;

But, like dumb statues or breathing stones,
Star'd each on other, and look'd deadly pale.
Which when I saw, I reprehended them;
And ask'd the mayor what meant this wilful
silence:

His answer was,—the people were not used
To be spoke to, but by the recorder. 30
Then he was urg'd to tell my tale again,—
"Thus saith the duke, thus hath the duke
inferred;"

But nothing spoke in warrant from himself.
[When he had done, some followers of mine

At lower end of the hall, hurl'd up their caps,
And some ten voices cried, "God save King
Richard!"

And thus I took the vantage of¹ those few,—
"Thanks, gentle citizens and friends," quoth I;
"This general applause and cheerful shout
Argues your wisdom and your love to Richard."
And even here brake off, and came away.] 41

Glo. What tongueless blocks were they!
would they not speak?

Buck. No, by my troth, my lord.

¹ Took the vantage of, i.e. took advantage of.

Glo. Will not the mayor, then, and his brethren, come? 44

Buck. The mayor is here at hand. Intend¹ some fear;

Be not you spoke with but by mighty suit:
And look you get a prayer-book in your hand,
And stand between two churchmen, good my lord;

For on that ground² I'll make a holy descendant:³
And be not easily won to our request; 50
Play the maid's part,—~~still~~ answer nay, and take it.

Glo. *I go; and if you plead as well for them
As I can say nay to thee for myself,
No doubt we'll bring it to a happy issue.

Buck. Go, go, up to the leads; the lord mayor knocks. [Exit *Gloster*.]

Enter the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens.

Welcome, my lord: I dance attendance here;
I think the duke will not be spoke withal.⁴

Enter, from the castle, CATESBY.

Now, Catesby, what says your lord to my request?

Cate. He doth entreat your grace, my noble lord,

To visit him to-morrow or next day: 60
He is within, with two right-reverend fathers,
Divinely bent to meditation;
And in no worldly suit would he be mov'd,
To draw him from his holy exercise.

Buck. Return, good Catesby, to the gracious duke;

Tell him, myself, the mayor and aldermen,
In deep designs and matters of great moment,
No less importing than our general good,
Are come to have some conference with his grace.

Cate. I'll signify so much unto him straight. [Exit.]

Buck. Ah, ha, my lord, this prince is not an Edward! 71

[He is not lolling on a lewd day-bed,
But on his knees at meditation;
Not dallying with a brace of courtézans,

*But meditating with two deep divines; 75
Not sleeping, to engross⁵ his idle body,
But praying, to enrich his watchful soul:]
Happy were England, would this virtuous prince

Take on himself the sovereignty thereof;
But, sure, I fear we shall not win him to it. 80
May. Marry, God defend⁶ his grace should say us nay!

Buck. I fear he will: here Catesby comes again;—

Re-enter CATESBY.

Now, Catesby, what says his grace?

Cate. He wonders to what end you have assembled

Such troops of citizens to come to him,
His grace not being warn'd thereof before:
He fears, my lord, you mean no good to him.

Buck. [Sorry I am my noble cousin should] Suspect me, that I mean no good to him:]
By heaven, we come to him in perfect love; 90
And so once more return and tell his grace.

[Exit *Catesby*.]

When holy and devout religious men
Are at their beads,⁷ 't is much to draw them thence,—

So sweet is zealous contemplation.

Enter GLOSTER, in a gallery above, between two Bishops.

CATESBY returns.

May. See, where his grace stands 'tween two clergymen!

Buck. [Two props of virtue for a Christian prince,

To stay him from the fall of vanity:]
And, see, a book of prayer in his hand,—
True ornaments to know⁸ a holy man.—
Famous Plantagenet, most gracious prince, 100
Lend favourable ear to our request;
And pardon us the interruption
Of thy devotion and right Christian zeal.

[*Glo.* My lord, there needs no such apology:]
I rather do beseech you pardon me,
Who, earnest in the service of my God,

¹ Intend = pretend.
² Descant = harmony.

³ Ground = theme.
⁴ Withal = with.

⁵ Engross, fatten.
⁷ Beads = prayers.

⁶ Defend = forbid.
⁸ To know = by which to know.

{Deferr'd the visitation of my friends.

{But, leaving this, what is your grace's pleasure? }

{*Buck.* Even that, I hope, which pleaseth
God above, 109

{And all good men of this ungovern'd isle.]

{*Glo.* I do suspect I have done some offence
That seems disgracious¹ in the city's eye;
And that you come to reprehend my ignorance.

{*Buck.* You have, my lord: would it might
please your grace,

On our entreaties, to amend your fault!

{*Glo.* Else wherefore breathe I in a Christian
land?

{*Buck.* Know, then, it is your fault that you
resign

The supreme seat, the throne majestical,²

The scepter'd office of your ancestors, 119

{[Your state of fortune and your due of birth,

The lineal glory of your royal house,]

To the corruption of a blemish'd stock:

{[Whilst, in the mildness of your sleepy
thoughts—

{Which here we waken to our country's good—]

This noble isle doth want her proper limbs;

Her face defac'd with scars of infamy,

{[Her royal stock graft³ with ignoble plants,

And almost shoulder'd in⁴ the swallowing gulf
Of dark forgetfulness and deep oblivion.]

Which to recure,⁵ we heartily solicit 130

Your gracious self to take on you the charge

And kingly government of this your land;—

Not as protector, steward, substitute,

Or lowly factor for another's gain;

But as successively,⁶ from blood to blood,

Your right of birth, your empery,⁷ your own.

{[For this, consorted⁸ with the citizens,

Your very worshipful and loving friends,

And by their vehement instigation, 130

In this just suit come I to move your grace.]

{*Glo.* I cannot tell, if to depart in silence,

Or bitterly to speak in your reproof,

Best fitteth my degree or your condition:

{[If not to answer, you might haply think

{Tongue-tied ambition, not replying, yielded

To bear the golden yoke of sovereignty, .

Which fondly⁹ you would here impose on me;

If to reprove you for this suit of yours, 148

So season'd with your faithful love to me,

Then, on the other side, I check'd¹⁰ my friends.]

Therefore,—to speak, and to avoid the first,

And then, in speaking, not t' incur the last,—

Definitively thus I answer you.

Your love deserves my thanks; but my desert
Unmeritable¹¹ shuns your high request.

[First, if all obstacles were cut away,

And that my path were even to the crown,

As the ripe revenue and due of birth; *

Yet so much is my poverty of spirit,

So mighty and so many my defects, 160

That I would rather hide me from my great-
ness—

Being a bark to brook no mighty sea—

Than in my greatness covet to be hid,

And in the vapour of my glory smother'd.

But, God be thank'd, there is no need of me;—

And much I need to help you,¹² were there
need;—]

The royal tree hath left us royal fruit,

Which, mellow'd by the stealing¹³ hours of time,

Will well become the seat of majesty, 169

[And make, no doubt, us happy by his reign.]

On him I lay that you would lay on me,—

The right and fortune of his happy stars;]

Which God defend that I should wring from
him!

{*Buck.* My lord, this argues conscience in
your grace;

But the respects thereof¹⁴ are nice¹⁵ and trivial,

[All circumstances well considered.

You say that Edward is your brother's son:

So say we too, but not by Edward's wife;

For first was he contract¹⁶ to Lady Lucy,—

Your mother lives a witness to his vow, 180

And afterward by substitute¹⁷ betroth'd

To Bona, sister to the King of France.

These both put off,¹⁸ a poor petitioner,

⁹ Fondly, unwisely.

¹⁰ I check'd = (you might think) that I checked, i.e. rebuked or chided.

¹¹ Unmeritable = devoid of merit.

¹² And much I need, &c., i.e. and I am wanting much in ability to help you.

¹³ Stealing, stealthily advancing.

¹⁴ The respects thereof, i.e. the reasons for your conduct.

¹⁵ Nice, over-scrupulous.

¹⁶ Contract, contracted.

¹⁷ By substitute, i.e. by proxy.

¹⁸ Put off, i.e. repudiated, thrown over.

¹ Disgracious = unpleasing.

² Majestical, i.e. belonging to the majesty of a king.

³ Graft = grafted.

⁴ In = into.

⁵ To recure, to heal again, to make sound.

⁶ Successively, in due succession.

⁷ Empery, empire.

⁸ Consorted, associated.

A care-craz'd mother to a many sons, 184
 A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
 Even in the afternoon of her best days,
 Made prize and purchase of his wanton eye,
 Seduc'd the pitch and height of his degree
 To base declension¹ and loath'd bigamy:
 By her, in his unlawful bed, he got 190
 This Edward, whom our manners call² the
 prince.

More bitterly could I expostulate,³
 Save that, for reverence⁴ to some alive,
 [I give a sparing limit to my tongue.]
 Then, good my lord, take to your royal self
 This proffer'd benefit of dignity;
 If not to bless us and the land withal,
 Yet to draw forth your noble ancestry
 From the corruption of abusing times
 Unto a lineal true-derived course. 200

May. Do, good my lord; your citizens entreat you.

Buck. Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.

Cate. O, make them joyful, grant their lawful suit!

Glo. Alas, why would you heap this care on me?

I am unfit for state and majesty:—
 I do beseech you, take it not amiss;
 I cannot nor I will not yield to you.

Buck. If you refuse it,—as, in love and zeal,
 Loth to depose the child, your brother's son;
 As well we know your tenderness of heart, 210
 [And gentle, kind, effeminate remorse,⁴
 Which we have noted in you to your kindred,
 And egally indeed to all estates,—]
 Yet whether you accept our suit or no,
 Your brother's son shall never reign our king;
 But we will plant some other in the throne,
 To the disgrace and downfall of your house:
 And in this resolution here we leave you.—
 Come, citizens: zounds, I'll entreat no more.

Glo. O, do not swear, my lord of Buckingham.

Buckingham; the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens are following him.

Cate. Call him again, sweet prince; accept their suit: 221

If you deny them, all the land will rue it.

Glo. Will you enforce me to a world of cares?
 Call them again.

[*Catesby stops the Citizens before they have gone off; then exit in search of Buckingham and the others.*

[*To those of the Citizens who have not gone off*]

I am not made of stone,

But penetrable to your kind entreats,
 Albeit against my conscience and my soul.

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM and CATESBY; the Mayor, &c. coming forward.

Cousin of Buckingham,—and sage, grave men,—

Since you will buckle fortune on my back,
 To bear her burden, wher I will or no,
 I must have patience to endure the load: 230
 But if black scandal or foul-fac'd reproach
 Attend the sequel of your imposition,
 Your mere enforcement shall acquittance me

From all the impure blots and stains thereof;
 For God doth know, and you may partly see,

How far I am from the desire of this.

May. God bless your grace! we see it, and will say it.

Glo. In saying so, you shall but say the truth.

Buck. Then I salute you with this royal title,—

Long live King Richard, England's worthy king! 240

[*Mayor, &c. Amen.*

Buck. To-morrow may it please you to be crown'd?

Glo. Even when you please, for you will have it so.

Buck. To-morrow, then, we will attend your grace:

And so, most joyfully, we take our leave.

Glo. [*To the Bishops*] Come, let us to our holy work again.—

Farewell, good cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.] [*Exeunt.*

¹ Declension, degradation.

² Whom our manners call, i.e. whom, by courtesy, we call.

³ Expostulate, i.e. remonstrate with you on your decision.

⁴ Remorse, pity.

ACT IV.

[SCENE I. London. Before the gate of the Tower.

Enter, on one side, QUEEN ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF YORK, and DORSET; on the other, ANNE DUCHESS OF GLOSTER, leading LADY MARGARET PLANTAGENET, CLARENCE'S young daughter.

Duch. Who meets us here?—my niece¹ Plantagenet,
Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?
Now, for my life, she's wandering to the Tower,
On pure heart's love, to greet the tender princes.—

Daughter, well met.

Anne. God give your graces both
A happy and a joyful time of day!

Q. Eliz. As much to you, good sister!
Whither away?

Anne. No further than the Tower; and, as
I guess,

Upon the holy devotion as yourselves,
To gratulate the gentle princes there. 10

Q. Eliz. Kind sister, thanks: we'll enter all
together:—

And, in good time, here the lieutenant comes.

Enter BRAKENBURY, from the Tower.

Master lieutenant, pray you, by your leave,
How doth the prince, and my young son of
York?

Brak. Right well, dear madam. By your
patience,²

I may not suffer you to visit them;
The king hath strictly charg'd the contrary.

Q. Eliz. The king! who's that?

Brak. I mean the lord protector.

Q. Eliz. The Lord protect him from that
kingly title! 20

Hath he set bounds between their love and me?
I am their mother; who shall barmefrom them?

Duch. I am their father's mother; I will see
them.

Anne. Their aunt I am in law, in love their
mother: 24

Then bring me to their sights; I'll bear thy
blame,

And take thy office from thee, on my peril.

Brak. No, madam, no,—I may not leave it so:
I'm bound by oath, and therefore pardon me. *[Exit.*

Enter STANLEY.

Stan. Let me but meet you, ladies, one hour
hence, 28

And I'll salute your grace of York as mother,
And reverend looker-on, of two fair queens.—

[To Anne] Come, madam, you must straight
to Westminster,

There to be crowned Richard's royal queen.

Q. Eliz. Ah, cut my lace asunder,
That my pent heart may have some scope to
beat,

Or else I swoon with this dead-killing news!

Anne. Despiteful tidings! O unpleasing news!

Dor. Be of good cheer:—mother, how fares
your grace?

Q. Eliz. O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee
hence! 32

Death and destruction dog thee at the heels;
Thy mother's name is ominous to children.

If thou wilt outstrip death, go, cross the seas,
And live with Richmond, from³ the reach of
hell: 36

Go, bid thee, bid thee from this slaughter-house,
Lest thou increase the number of the dead;

And make me die the thrall⁴ of Margaret's
curse,—

Nor mother, wife, nor England's counted queen.

Stan. Full of wise care is this your counsel,
madam.—

[To Dorset] Take all the swift advantage of
the hours;

You shall have letters from me to my son⁵ 50
In your behalf, to meet you on the way:
Be not ta'en tardy by unwise delay.

Duch. O ill-dispersing wind⁶ of misery!—

¹ Niece = granddaughter.

² Patience, pronounced as a trisyllable.

³ From, out of. ⁴ Thrall, victim (literally, "slave").

⁵ Son, stepson (i.e. Richmond).

⁶ Ill-dispersing wind, i.e. wind that scatters evil abroad.

O my accursed womb, the bed of death! 54
A cockatrice hast thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavoided eye is murderous.

Stan. Come, madam, come; I in all haste was sent.

Anne. And I in all unwillingness will go.—

O, would to God that the inclusive verge¹
Of golden metal that must round my brow 60
Were red-hot steel, to sear me to the brain!

Anointed let me be with deadly venom; 62
And die, ere men can say, "God save the queen!"

Q. Eliz. Go, go, poor soul, I envy not thy glory;

To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm.²

Anne. No! why?—When he that is my husband now

Came to me, as I follow'd Henry's corse;



Duch. Who meets us here?—my niece Plantagenet,
Led in the hand of her kind aunt of Gloster?—(Act iv. 1. 1, 2.)

When scarce the blood was well wash'd from
his hands

Which issu'd from my other angel husband,
And that dead saint which then I weeping
follow'd; 70

O, when, I say, I look'd on Richard's face,
This was my wish,—"Be thou," quoth I,
"accurs'd,

¹ *Verge* = circle, literally, boundary.

² *To feed my humour, wish thyself no harm*, i.e. do not, just to please me, wish harm to thyself.

For making me, so young, so old a widow!
And, when thou wedd'st, let sorrow haunt thy
bed; 74

And be thy wife—if any be so mad—
More miserable by the life of thee
Than thou hast made me by my dear lord's
death!"

Lo, ere I can repeat this curse again,
Even in so short a space, my woman's
heart

Grossly grew captive to his honey words, 80
151

{ And prov'd the subject of mine own soul's
curse,—

{ Which ever since hath kept mine eyes from rest;
For never yet one hour¹ in his bed
Have I enjoy'd the golden dew of sleep,
But have been waked by his timorous dreams.
Besides, he hates me for my father Warwick;
And will, no doubt, shortly be rid of me.

Q. Eliz. Poor heart, adieu! I pity thy complaining.

Anne. No more than from my soul I mourn for yours.

Q. Eliz. Farewell, thou woeful welcomer of glory! 90

Anne. Adieu, poor soul, that tak'st thy leave of it!

Duch. [To *Dorset*] Go thou to Richmond, and good fortune guide thee!—

[To *Anne*] Go thou to Richard, and good angels tend thee!—

[To *Queen Elizabeth*] Go thou to sanctuary, good thoughts possess thee!—

I to my grave, where peace and rest lie with me!
Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen,
And each hour's joy wreck'd with a week of teen.²

Q. Eliz. Stay yet, look back with me unto the Tower.—

Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes,
Whom envy hath immur'd within your walls!
Rough cradle for such little pretty ones! 101
Rude ragged nurse, old sullen playfellow
For tender princes, use my babies well!
{ So foolish sorrow bids your stones farewell.

{ [Exeunt.] }

SCENE II. *The same. A room of state in the palace.*

Sennet. Enter RICHARD in state, crowned;
BUCKINGHAM, CATESBY, RATCLIFF, LOVEL,
a Page, and others.

K. Rich. Stand all apart.—Cousin of Buckingham,—

Buck. My gracious sovereign!

K. Rich. Give me thy hand. [Ascends the throne.] Thus high, by thy advice

And thy assistance, is King Richard seated:—

But shall we wear these honours for a day?
Or shall they last, and we rejoice in them?

Buck. Still live they, and for ever let them last!

K. Rich. Ah, Buckingham, now do I play the touch,³

To try if thou be current gold indeed:—

Young Edward lives;—think now what I would speak. 19

Buck. Say on, my loving lord.

K. Rich. Why, Buckingham, I say, I would be king.

Buck. Why, so you are, my thrice-rehowned liege.

K. Rich. Ha! am I king? 't is so:—but Edward lives.

Buck. True, noble prince.

K. Rich. O bitter consequence,
That Edward still should live! "True, noble prince!"—

Cousin, thou wert not wont to be so dull:—

Shall I be plain?—I wish the bastards dead;
And I would have it suddenly perform'd. 19

What say'st thou now? speak suddenly, be brief.

Buck. Your grace may do your pleasure.

K. Rich. Tut, tut, thou art all ice, thy kindness freezes:

Say, have I thy consent that they shall die?

Buck. Give me some breath, some little pause, my lord,

Before I positively speak herein:

I will resolve⁴ your grace immediately. [Exit.

Cate. [Aside to another] The king is angry;
see, he gnaws his lip.

K. Rich. I will converse with iron-witted fools [Descends from his throne.

And unrespectiv⁵ boys: none are for me

That look into me with considerate eyes:— 30
High-reaching Buckingham grows circum-
spect.—

Boy!—

Page. My lord?

K. Rich. Know'st thou not any whom corrupting gold

Would tempt unto a close exploit⁶ of death?

Page. I know a discontented gentleman,

³ The touch, i.e. the touchstone.

⁴ Resolve, satisfy, answer.

⁵ Unrespectiv, careless, unthinking.

⁶ Close exploit, secret deed.

¹ Hour, pronounced as a dissyllable. ² Teen, sorrow.

Whose humble means match not his haughty mind:

Gold were as good as twenty orators,
And will, no doubt, tempt him to any thing.

K. Rich. What is his name?

Page. His name, my lord, is Tyrrel. 40

K. Rich. I partly know the man: go call him hither. [*Exit Page.*]

The deep-revolving witty¹ Buckingham
No more shall be the neighbour to my counsels:
Hath he so long held out with me untir'd,
And stops he now for breath?—well, be it so.

Enter STANLEY.

How now! what news with you?

Stan. My lord, I hear
The Marquess Dorset's fled beyond the seas
To Richmond, in those parts where he abides.

K. Rich. Come hither, Catesby. [*Stanley retires.*]
—Rumour it abroad 40

That Anne, my wife, is very grievous sick;

[*I will take order² for her keeping close.*]

Inquire me out some mean-born gentleman,

Whom I will marry straight to Clarence's daughter;—

[*The boy is foolish, and I fear not him.—*]

Look, how thou dream'st!—I say again, give out
That Anne my queen is sick, and like to die:

About it; for it stands me much upon,³

To stop all hopes whose growth may damage me. [*Exit Catesby.*]

I must be married to my brother's daughter,
Or else my kingdom stands on brittle glass:—
Murder her brothers, and then marry her! 61
Uncertain way of gain! But I am in
So far in blood, that sin will pluck on sin:
Tear-falling⁴ pity dwells not in this eye.

Re-enter Page, with TYRREL.

Is thy name Tyrrel?

Tyr. James Tyrrel, and your most obedient servant.

K. Rich. Art thou indeed?

Tyr. Prove me, my gracious lord.

K. Rich. Dar'st thou resolve to kill a friend of mine?

Tyr. Ay, my lord;

But I had rather kill two enemies. 70

K. Rich. Why, then thou hast it: two deep enemies,

Foes to my rest and my sweet sleep's disturbers,
Are they that I would have thee deal upon:—
Tyrrel, I mean those bastards in the Tower.

Tyr. Let me have open means to come to them,

And soon I'll rid you from the fear of them.

K. Rich. Thou sing'st sweet music. Hark, come hither, Tyrrel:

Go, by this token:—rise, and lend thine ear:

[*Whisper.*]

There is no more but so:—say it is done, 75

And I will love thee, and prefer⁵ thee for it.

Tyr. I will dispatch it straight. [*Exit.*]

Re-enter BUCKINGHAM.

Buck. My lord, I have consider'd in my mind
The late demand that you did sound me in.

K. Rich. Well, let that rest. Dorset is fled to Richmond.

Buck. I hear the news, my lord.

K. Rich. Stanley, he⁶ is your wife's son:—well, look to it.

Buck. My lord, I claim the gift, my due by promise,

For which your honour and your faith is pawn'd;⁷

Th' earldom of Hereford, and the moveables,
Which you have promised I shall possess. 90

K. Rich. Stanley, look to your wife: if she convey

Letters to Richmond, you shall answer it.

Buck. What says your highness to my just request?

K. Rich. I do remember me,—Henry the Sixth

Did prophesy that Richmond should be king,
When Richmond was a little peevish boy.

A king!—perhaps—

Buck. My lord,—

K. Rich. How chance the prophet could not at that time

Have told me, I being by, that I should kill him? 100

¹ Witty, clever, cunning.

² Take order, arrange, take measures.

³ It stands me much upon, it is of much concern to me.

⁴ Tear-falling, tear-shedding.

⁵ Prefer, advance.

⁶ He, i.e. Richmond.

⁷ Pawn'd, pledged.

Buck. My lord, your promise for the earl-
dom,— 101

K. Rich. Richmond!—When last I was at
Exeter,

The mayor in courtesy show'd me the castle,
And call'd it Rougemont: at which name I
started,

Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.

Buck. My lord,—

K. Rich. Ay, what's o'clock?

Buck. I am thus bold to put your grace in
mind 109

Of what you promis'd me.

K. Rich. Well, but what's o'clock?

Buck. Upon the stroke of ten.

K. Rich. Well, let it strike.

Buck. Why let it strike?

K. Rich. Because that, like a Jack, thou
keep'st the stroke

Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.

I am not in the giving vein to-day.

Buck. Why, then resolve me whether you
will or no.

K. Rich. Thou troublest me; I am not in
the vein. [*Exeunt all except Buckingham.*]

Buck. Is it even so? rewards he my true
service

With such contempt? made I him king for this?

O, let me think on Hastings, and be gone 120
To Brecknock, while my fearful head is on!

[*Exit.*]

SCENE III. *Another room in the palace.*

Enter TYRREL.

Tyr. The tyrannous and bloody act is
done,—

The most arch² deed of piteous massacre
That ever yet this land was guilty of.
Dighton and Forrest, whom I did suborn
To do this ruthless piece of butchery,
Albeit they were flesh'd villains, bloody dogs,
Melted³ with tenderness and mild compassion,
Wept like two children in their death's sad
story.

"O, thus," quoth Dighton, "lay the gentle
babes,"—

"Thus, thus," quoth Forrest, "girdling one
another 10

Within their alabaster innocent arms:

Their lips were four red roses on a stalk,
Which in their summer beauty kiss'd each
other.

A book of prayers⁴ on their pillow lay;

"Which once," quoth Forrest, "almost chang'd
my mind;

But, O, the devil"—there the villain stopp'd;
When Dighton thus told on,— "We smother'd

The most replenish'd⁵ sweet work of nature,
That from the prime⁶ creation e'er she fram'd."

Hence both are gone with conscience and re-
morse; 20

They could not speak; and so I left them both,
To bear this tidings to the bloody king:—

And here he comes.

Enter KING RICHARD.

All health, my sovereign lord!

K. Rich. Kind Tyrrel, am I happy in thy
news?

Tyr. If to have done the thing you gave in
charge

Beget your happiness, be happy then,

For it is done.

K. Rich. But didst thou see them dead?

Tyr. I did, my lord.

K. Rich. And buried, gentle Tyrrel?

Tyr. The chaplain of the Tower hath buried
them;

But where, to say the truth, I do not know.

K. Rich. Come to me, Tyrrel, soon⁷ at after-
supper, 31

When thou shalt tell the process⁸ of their death.

Meantime, but think how I may do thee good,

And be inheritor of thy desire.

Farewell till then.

Tyr. I humbly take my leave. [*Exit.*]

K. Rich. The son of Clarence have I pent
up close;

His daughter meanly have I match'd in mar-
riage;

⁴ *Prayers*, pronounced as a disyllable

⁵ *Replenished*, complete, consummate.

⁶ *Prime*, primitive.

⁷ *Soon*, presently.

⁸ *Process*, narrative, history.

¹ *Resolve*, answer, satisfy.

² *Arch*, chief, out-and-out.

³ *Melted*, i.e. overcome.

The sons of Edward sleep in Abraham's bosom,
And Anne my wife hath bid this world good
night. 39

Now, for I knew the Breton Richmond aims
At young Elizabeth, my brother's daughter,
And, by that knot,¹ looks proudly on the crown,
To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer.

Enter CATESBY.

Cate. My lord,— 44

K. Rich. Good news or bad, that thou com'st
in so bluntly?

Cate. Bad news, my lord: Ely is fled to
Richmond;



Tyr. "O, thus," quoth Dighton, "lay the gentle babes,"—
"Thus, thus," quoth Forrest, "girdling one another
Within their alabaster innocent arms."—(Act IV. 3. 9-11.)

And Buckingham, back'd with the hardy
Welshmen,

Is in the field, and still his power increaseth.

K. Rich. Ely with Richmond troubles me
more near

Than Buckingham and his rash-levied strength.
Come,—I have learn'd that fearful² comment-
ing 51

Is leaden servitor to³ dull delay;

Delay leads impotent and snail-pac'd beggary:
Then fiery expedition be my wing,
Jove's Mercury, and herald for a king!
Go, muster men: my counsel is my shield;
We must be brief, when traitors brave the
field. [*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *The same. Before the palace.*

[*Enter QUEEN MARGARET.*]

Q. Mar. So, now prosperity begins to mellow,
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.

¹ By that knot, by means of that alliance.

² Fearful, timorous.

³ Servitor to, attendant on.

Here in these confines slyly have I lurk'd, ³
 To watch the waning of mine enemies.
 A dire induction am I witness to,
 And will to France; hoping the consequence
 Will prove as bitter, black, and tragical.—
 Withdraw thee, wretched Margaret: who
 comes here? *[Retires.]*

*Enter QUEEN ELIZABETH and the DUCHESS
 OF YORK.*

Q. Eliz. Ah, my poor princes! ah, my tender babes!

*[My unblown flowers,¹ new - appearing²
 sweets!]* ¹⁰

If yet your gentle souls fly in the air,
 And be not fix'd in doom perpetual,
 Hover about me with your airy wings,
 And hear your mother's lamentation!

*[Q. Mar. [Aside] Hover about her; say that
 right for right]*

[Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.]
Duch. So many miseries have craz'd my
 voice,

That my woe-wearied tongue is still and
 mute.—

Edward Plantagenet, why art thou dead?

*[Q. Mar. [Aside] Plantagenet doth quit³
 Plantagenet,* ²⁰

Edward for Edward pays a dying debt.]

Q. Eliz. Wilt thou, O God, fly from such
 gentle lambs,

And throw them in the entrails of the wolf?
 When didst thou sleep, when such a deed was
 done?

*[Q. Mar. [Aside] When holy Harry died,
 and my sweet son.]*

Duch. Dead life, blind sight, poor mortal
 living ghost,

*[Woe's scene, world's shame, grave's due by
 life usurp'd,]*

Brief abstract and record of tedious days,
 Rest thy unrest on England's lawful earth,

[Sitting down.]

Unlawfully made drunk with innocent blood!

Q. Eliz. Ah, that thou wouldst as soon
 afford a grave ³¹

As thou canst yield a melancholy seat!

Then would I hide my bones, not rest them
 here. ³⁸

[Ah, who hath any cause to mourn but I?]
[Sitting down by her.]

*[Q. Mar. [Coming forward] If ancient sor-
 row be most reverend,*

Give mine the benefit of seniory,⁴
 And let my griefs frown on the upper hand.⁵
 If sorrow can admit society,

[Sitting down with them.]

Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine:—
 I had an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him; ⁴⁰
 I had a Harry, till a Richard kill'd him:
 Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd
 him;

Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.

Duch. I had a Richard too, and thou didst
 kill him;

I had a Rutland too, thou help'st to kill him.

Q. Mar. Thou hadst a Clarence too, and
 Richard kill'd him.

From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
 A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death:
 That dog, that had his teeth before his eyes,
 To worry lambs, and lap their gentle blood; ⁵⁰
 That foul defacer of God's handiwork;
 That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
 That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls,
 Thy womb let loose, to chase us to our graves.—
 O upright, just, and true-disposing God,
 How do I thank thee, that this carnal⁶ cur
 Preys on the issue of his mother's body,
 And makes her pew-fellow with others' moan!⁷

Duch. O Harry's wife, triumph not in my
 woes!

God witness with me, I have wept for thine.

Q. Mar. Bear with me; I am hungry for
 revenge, ⁶¹

And now I cloy me with beholding it.

Thy Edward he is dead, that kill'd my Ed-
 ward;

Thy other Edward dead, to quit my Edward;
 Young York he is but boot,⁸ because both they
 Match not the high perfection of my loss:

⁴ Seniory, seniority.

⁵ Frown on the upper hand, i.e. have the place of
 honour.

⁶ Carnal, bloodthirsty, cannibal.

⁷ Makes her pew-fellow with others' moan, gives her an
 equal share of the sorrow which others suffer.

⁸ He is but boot, i.e. he is merely thrown in to make
 weight.

¹ Flowers, pronounced as a disyllable.

² New-appearing, whose appearance is but recent.

³ Quit, requite, pay quittance for.



KING RICHARD III
Act IV, Scene IV, lines 9-10

O Eliz Ah my poor princes' ah my tender babes
My unblown flowers new-appearing sweets'

Thy Clarence he is dead that stabb'd my Edward;

And the beholders of this tragic play,
Th' adulterate, Hastings, Rivers, Vaughan,
Grey,

Untimely smother'd in their dusky graves. 70
Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer;¹

Only reserv'd their factor,² to buy souls,
And send them thither:—but at hand, at hand,
Ensues his piteous and unpitied end:

Earth gapes;³ hell burns, fiends roar, saints
pray,

To have⁴ him suddenly convey'd from hence.—
Cancel his bond of life, dear God, I pray,

That I may live to say, "The dog is dead!"

Q. Eliz. O, thou didst prophesy the time
would come

That I should wish for thee to help me curse
That bottled spider, that foul bunch-back'd
toad! 81

Q. Mar. I call'd thee then vain flourish of
my fortune:

I call'd thee then poor shadow, painted queen;
The presentation⁵ of but what I was;

The flattering index⁶ of a direful pageant;
One heav'd a-high,⁷ to be hurl'd down below;

A mother only⁸ mock'd with two fair babes;
A dream of what thou wert; a breath, a
bubble;

A sign of dignity, a garish flag
To be the aim of every dangerous shot; 90
A queen in jest, only to fill the scene.

Where is thy husband now? where be thy
brothers?

Where be thy two sons? wherein dost thou joy?
Who sues to thee, and cries, "God save the
queen?"

Where be the bending peers that flatter'd thee?
Where be the thronging troops that follow'd
thee?

Decline all this, and see what now thou art:
For⁹ happy wife, a most distressed widow;

For joyful mother, one that wails the name;
For queen, a very¹⁰ caitiff crown'd with care; 100

For one being su'd to, one that humbly sues;
For one that, scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me;
For one being fear'd of all, now fearing one;
For one commanding all, obey'd of none.
Thus hath the course of justice whirl'd about,
And left thee but a very¹¹ prey to time;
Having no more but thought of what thou
wert,
To torture thee the more, being what thou art.
Thou didst usurp my place, and dost thou not
Usurp the just proportion of my sorrow? 110
Now thy proud neck bears half my burden'd¹²
yoke;
From which even here I slip my wearied head,
And leave the burden of it all on thee.—
[Rises.
Farewell, York's wife;—and queen of sad mis-
chance:—
These English woes shall make me smile in
France.
[Queen Elizabeth and the Duchess of York rise.
Q. Eliz. O thou well-skill'd in curses, stay
awhile,
And teach me how to curse mine enemies!
Q. Mar. Forbear to sleep the night, and fast
the day;
Compare dead happiness with living woe;
Think that thy babes were fairer than they
were, 120
And he that slew them fouler than he is:
Bettering¹³ thy loss makes the bad causer
worse:
Revolving¹⁴ this will teach thee how to curse.
Q. Eliz. My words are dull; O, quicken
them with thine!
Q. Mar. Thy woes will make them sharp,
and pierce like mine. [Exit.]
Duch. Why should calamity be full of words?
Q. Eliz. [Windy attorneys to their client woes,
Airy succeders¹⁵ of intestate joys,]
Poor breathing orators of miseries!
Let them have scope: though what they do
impart 130
Help nothing else,¹⁶ yet will they ease the heart.
Duch. If so, then be not tongue-tied: go
with me,

¹ *Intelligencer*, go-between, instrument.

² *Their factor*, i.e. agent (of the infernal powers).

³ *Presentation*, show, semblance.

⁴ *Index*, prologue. ⁵ *A-high*, on high. ⁶ *Only*, merely.

⁷ *For*—instead of, in this and the six following lines.

⁸ *Very*, mere.

⁹ *Burden'd*, burdensome.

¹⁰ *Bettering*, i.e. magnifying, exaggerating.

¹¹ *Revolving*, considering.

¹² *Succeders*, i.e. heirs.

¹³ *Help nothing else*, are of no other use.

And in the breath of bitter words let's smother
My damned son, that thy two sweet sons
smother'd.¹ [Drum within.]

I hear his drum:—be copious in exclams.²

Enter KING RICHARD with troops, marching.

K. Rich. Who intercepts me in my expedition?

Duch. O, she that might have intercepted thee,

By strangling thee in her accursed womb,
From all the slaughters, wretch, that thou
hast done!

Q. Eliz. [Hid'st thou that forehead with a
golden crown, 140

Where should be branded, if that right were
right,

The slaughter of the prince that ow'd³ that
crown,

And the dire death of my poor sons and
brothers?]

Tell me, thou villain slave, where are my
children?

Duch. Thou toad, thou toad, where is thy
brother Clarence?

[And little Ned Plantagenet, his son?

Q. Eliz. Where is the gentle Rivers,
Vaughan, Grey?

Duch. Where is kind Hastings?]

K. Rich. A flourish, trumpets! strike
alarum, drums!

Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women
Rail on the Lord's anointed: strike, I say! 151

[*Flourish. Alarum.*

Either be patient, and entreat me fair,⁴

Or with the clamorous report of war

Thus will I drown your exclamations.

Duch. Art thou my son?

K. Rich. Ay, I thank God, my father, and
yourself.

Duch. Then patiently hear my impatience.

K. Rich. Madam, I have a touch⁵ of your
condition,⁶

That cannot brook the accent of reproof.

Duch. O, let me speak!

K. Rich. Do, then; but I'll not hear.

Duch. I will be mild and gentle in my
words. 161

K. Rich. And brief, good mother; for I am
in haste.

Duch. Art thou so hasty? I have stay'd for
thee,

God knows, in torment and in agony.

K. Rich. And came I not at last to comfort
you?

Duch. No, by the holy rood, thou know'st
it well,

Thou cam'st on earth to make the earth my
hell.

A grievous burden was thy birth to me;

Tetchy⁷ and wayward was thy infancy;

Thy school-days frightful,⁸ desperate, wild, and
furious; 170

Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and ven-
turous;

Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, sly, and
bloody,

More mild, but yet more harmful-kind in
hatred:

What comfortable hour⁹ canst thou name,

That ever grac'd me in thy company?

K. Rich. Faith, none, but Humphrey hour,
that call'd your grace

To breakfast once forth of¹⁰ my company.

If I be so disgracious¹¹ in your eye, 178

Let me march on, and not offend you, madam.—
Strike up the drum.

Duch. I prithee, hear me speak.

K. Rich. You speak too bitterly.

Duch. Hear me a word;

For I shall never speak to thee again.

K. Rich. So.¹²

Duch. Either thou wilt die, by God's just
ordinance,

Ere from this war thou turn a conqueror;

Or I with grief and extreme age shall perish,

And never more behold thy face again.

Therefore take with thee my most heavy curse;

Which, in the day of battle, tire¹³ thee more

¹ That thy two sweet sons smother'd, who smothered thy
two sweet sons. ² Exclaims, cries.

³ Ow'd, owned, possessed.

⁴ Entreat me fair, use me well, i.e. let your words be
pleasant. ⁵ A touch, i.e. somewhat.

⁶ Condition, disposition.

⁷ Tetchy, fretful. ⁸ Frightful, i.e. inspiring fear.

⁹ Hour, pronounced as a dissyllable.

¹⁰ Forth of, away from.

¹¹ Disgracious, unpleasing.

¹² So, well, be it so.

¹³ Which . . . tire, i.e. and may that (my curse) tire.

Than all the complete armour that thou
wear'st! 190

My prayers¹ on the adverse party² fight;
And there the little souls of Edward's chil-
dren

Whisper the spirits of thine enemies,
And promise them success and victory.
Bloody thou art, bloody will be thy end;
Shame serves³ thy life, and doth thy death
attend. [Exit.

Q. Eliz. Though far more cause, yet much
less spirit to curse

Abides in me; I say amen to her. [Going.

K. Rich. Stay, madam; I must speak a word
with you.

Q. Eliz. I have no more sons of the royal
blood 200

For thee to murder:⁴ [for⁴ my daughters,
Richard,

They shall be praying nuns, not weeping
queens;

And therefore level⁵ not to hit their lives.]

K. Rich. You have a daughter call'd Eliza-
beth,

Virtuous and fair, royal and gracious.

Q. Eliz. And must she die for this? O, let
her live,

[And I'll corrupt her manners, stain her
beauty;

Slander myself as false to Edward's bed;

Throw over her the veil of infamy:

So she may live unscarr'd of bleeding slaugh-
ter, 210

confess she was not Edward's daughter.

K. Rich. Wrong not her birth, she is of
royal blood.

Q. Eliz. To save her life, I'll say she is
not so.

K. Rich. Her life is safest only in her birth.

Q. Eliz. And only in that safety died her
brothers.

K. Rich. Lo, at their births good stars were
opposite.⁶

Q. Eliz. No, so their lives ill friends were
contrary.⁷

• K. Rich. All unavoided⁸ is the doom of
destiny.

Q. Eliz. True, when avoided grace makes
destiny:

My babes were destin'd to a fairer death, 220
If grace had bless'd thee with a fairer life.]

K. Rich. You speak as if that I had slain
my cousins.

Q. Eliz. Cousins, indeed; and by their uncle
cozen'd

Of comfort, kingdom, kindred, freedom, life.

[Whose hand soever lanc'd their tender hearts,
Thy head, all indirectly, gave direction:

No doubt the murderous knife was dull and
blunt

Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart,
To revel in the entrails of my lambs.

But that still⁹ use of grief makes wild grief
tame, 230

My tongue should to thy ears not name my
boys

Till that my nails were anchor'd in thine
eyes;

And I, in such a desperate bay of death,
Like a poor bark, of sails and tackling reft,
Rush all to pieces on thy rocky bosom.]

K. Rich. Madam, so thrive I in my enter-
prise

And dangerous success¹⁰ of bloody wars,

As I intend more good to you and yours

Than ever you and yours by me were harm'd!

Q. Eliz. [What good is cover'd with the face
of heaven, 240

To be discover'd, that can do me good?

K. Rich. Th' advancement of your children,
gentle lady.

Q. Eliz. Up to some scaffold, there to lose
their heads?

K. Rich. No, to the dignity and height of
honour,

The high imperial type¹¹ of this earth's glory.

Q. Eliz. Flatter my sorrows with report
of it;]

Tell me what state, what dignity, what honour,
Canst thou demise¹² to any child of mine?

¹ My prayers, i.e. "May my prayers." Prayers is pro-
nounced as a disyllable. ² Party, part, side.

³ Serves, attends, waits upon.

⁴ For, as for.

⁵ Level, aim, scheme.

⁶ Opposite, unpropitious.

⁷ Contrary, adverse.

⁸ Unavoided, unavoidable, not to be avoided.

⁹ Still, continual, constant.

¹⁰ Dangerous success, hazardous or uncertain result.

¹¹ Type, badge, distinguishing mark.

¹² Demise, grant (literally, "bequeath").

K. Rich. Even all I have; ay, and myself
and all,

Will I withal endow a child of thine; 250
So¹ in the Lethe² of thy angry soul
Thou drown the sad remembrance of those
wrongs

Which thou supposest I have done to thee.

Q. Eliz. Be brief, lest that the process³ of
thy kindness

Last longer telling than thy kindness' date.⁴

K. Rich. Then know, that from my soul I
love thy daughter.

Q. Eliz. [My daughter's mother thinks it
with her soul.

K. Rich. What do you think?

Q. Eliz. That thou dost love my daughter
from thy soul:⁵]

So, from thy soul's love, didst thou love her
brothers; 260

And, from my heart's love, I do thank thee
for it.

K. Rich. Be not so hasty to confound my
meaning:

I mean, that with my soul I love thy daughter,
And do intend to make her Queen of Eng-
land.

Q. Eliz. Well, then, who dost thou mean
shall be her king?

K. Rich. Even he that makes her queen:
who else should be?

Q. Eliz. What, thou?

K. Rich. Even I: what think you of
it, madam?

Q. Eliz. How canst thou woo her?

K. Rich. That I would learn of you,
As one being best acquainted with her hu-
mour.

Q. Eliz. And wilt thou learn of me?

K. Rich. Madam, with all my heart.

Q. Eliz. Send to her, by the man that slew
her brothers, 271

A pair of bleeding hearts; thereon engrave
"Edward and York;" then haply will she
weep:

¹ So, i.e. provided that.

² Lethe, a river in the infernal regions, whose waters
were supposed to produce oblivion.

³ Process, story.

⁴ Date = term, period of duration.

⁵ From thy soul, i.e. outside of thy soul, not with thy
heart.

[Therefore present to her—as sometime Mar-
garet 274

Did to thy father, steep'd in Rutland's blood—
A handkerchief; which, say to her, did drain
The purple sap from her sweet brothers' bodies,
And bid her wipe her weeping eyes withal.]

If this inducement move her not to love,

Send her a letter of thy noble deeds; 280

Tell her thou mad'st away her uncle Clarence,
Her uncle Rivers; ay, and, for her sake,
Mad'st quick conveyance with⁶ her good aunt
Anne.

K. Rich. You mock me, madam; this is not
the way

To win your daughter.

Q. Eliz. There's no other way;

Unless thou couldst put on some other shape,
And not be Richard that hath done all this.

[*K. Rich.* Say that I did all this for love of her?

Q. Eliz. Nay, then indeed she cannot choose
but love thee,

Having⁷ bought love with such a bloody spoil.]

K. Rich. Look, what is done cannot be now
amended: 291

Men shall deal unadvisedly⁸ sometimes,
Which⁹ after-hours give leisure to repent.

[If I did take the kingdom from your sons,
To make amends, I'll give it to your daughter.

If I have kill'd the issue of your womb,
To quicken¹⁰ your increase, I will beget
Mine issue, of your blood, upon your daughter:

A grandam's name is little less in love

Than is the doting title of a mother; 300

They are as children but one step below, e

Even of your mettle, of your very blood;

Of all one pain,¹¹—save for a night of groans
Endur'd of¹² her, for whom you bid¹³ like sor-
row.]

Your children were vexation to your youth;

But mine shall be a comfort to your age.

The loss you have is but a son being king,¹⁴

⁶ Mad'st quick conveyance with, i.e. quickly conveyed,
or got rid of.

⁷ Having, thou having, i.e. thou who hast.

⁸ Shall deal unadvisedly, cannot help doing rash deeds.

⁹ Which, i.e. such deeds as.

¹⁰ Quicken, i.e. bring to life.

¹¹ Of all one pain, i.e. giving the same trouble, or pain.

¹² Of, by.

¹³ Bid, bore, endured.

¹⁴ But a son being king, i.e. only that your son did not
live to reign as king.

And by that loss your daughter is made queen.
 I cannot make you what amends I would,
 Therefore accept such kindness as I can. 310
 [Dorset your son, that with a fearful soul
 Leads discontented steps in foreign soil,
 This fair alliance quickly shall call home
 To high promotions and great dignity:
 The king, that calls your beauteous daughter
 "wife,"

Familiarly shall call thy Dorset "brother;"
 Again shall you be mother to a king,
 And all the ruins of distressful times
 Repair'd with double riches of content.
 What! we have many goodly days to see: 320
 The liquid drops of tears that you have shed
 Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl,
 Advantaging their loan¹ with interest
 Of ten-times double gain of happiness.
 Go, then, my mother, to thy daughter go;
 Make bold her bashful years with your experience;

Prepare her ears to hear a wooer's tale;
 Put in her tender heart th' aspiring flame
 Of golden sovereignty; acquaint the princess
 With the sweet silent hours of marriage joys:]
 And when this arm of mine hath chastis'd 331
 The petty rebel, dull-brain'd Buckingham,
 Bound² with triumphant garlands will I come,
 And lead thy daughter to a conqueror's bed;
 To whom I will retail³ my conquest won,
 And she shall be sole victress, Caesar's Caesar.

Q. Eliz. [What were I best to say? her father's brother

Would be her lord? or shall I say, her uncle?
 {Or, he that slew her brothers and her uncles?]
 Under what title shall I woo for thee, 340
 That God, the law, my honour, and her love,
 Can make seem pleasing to her tender years?

K. Rich. Infer⁴ fair England's peace by this alliance.

Q. Eliz. Which she shall purchase with still-lasting war.

K. Rich. Tell her, the king, that may command, entreats.

Q. Eliz. That at her hands which the king's King forbids.

¹ Advantaging their loan, augmenting the value of the former loan. ² Bound, wretched, crowned.

³ Retail, recount.

⁴ Infer, bring forward (as an argument), adduce.
 VOL. IV.

K. Rich. Say, she shall be a high and mighty queen.

Q. Eliz. To wail the title, as her mother doth.

K. Rich. Say, I will love her everlastingly.

Q. Eliz. But how long shall that title "ever" last? 350

[*K. Rich.* Sweetly in force unto her fair life's end.

Q. Eliz. But how long fairly shall her sweet life last?

K. Rich. As long as heaven and nature lengthen it.

Q. Eliz. As long as hell and Richard like of it.

K. Rich. Say, I, her sovereign, am her subject love.

Q. Eliz. But she, your subject, loathes such sovereignty.

K. Rich. Be eloquent in my behalf to her.

Q. Eliz. An honest tale speeds best being plainly told.

K. Rich. Then, plainly to her tell my loving tale.

Q. Eliz. Plain and not honest is too harsh a style. 360

K. Rich. Your reasons are too shallow and too quick.⁵

Q. Eliz. O no, my reasons are too deep and dead;—

Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.

K. Rich. Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.

Q. Eliz. Harp on it still shall I till heart-strings break.]

K. Rich. Now, by my George, my garter, and my crown,—

Q. Eliz. Profan'd, dishonour'd, and the third usurp'd.

K. Rich. I swear—

Q. Eliz. By nothing; for this is no oath:

[Thy George, profan'd, hath lost his holy honour;

Thy garter, blemish'd, pawn'd his knightly virtue; 370,

Thy crown, usurp'd, disgrac'd his kingly glory.]

If something thou wouldst swear to be believ'd,
 Swear, then, by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

⁵ Quick, hasty. (But Elizabeth takes it to mean "alive.")

K. Rich. Then by myself,—
Q. Eliz. Thyself is self-misus'd.
K. Rich. Now, by the world,—
Q. Eliz. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.
K. Rich. My father's death,—
Q. Eliz. Thy life hath that dishonour'd.
K. Rich. Why, then, by God,—



Q. Eliz. Shall I be tempted of the devil thus?
K. Rich. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do good.
 — (Act iv. 4. 418, 419.)

Q. Eliz. God's wrong is most of all.
 [If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
 The unity the king thy brother made 379
 Had not been broken, nor my brother slain:
 If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
 Th' imperial metal, circling now thy head,
 Had grac'd the tender temples of my child;
 And both the princes had been breathing here,
 Which now, too tender bedfellows for dust,
 Thy broken faith hath made a prey for worms.]
 What canst thou swear by now?
K. Rich. The time to come.

Q. Eliz. That thou hast wronged in the time
 o'erpast;
 [For I myself have many tears to wash
 Hereafter time,¹ for time past wrong'd by
 thee. 390
 The children live, whose fathers thou hast
 slaughter'd,
 Ungovern'd² youth, to wait it in their age;
 The parents live, whose children thou hast
 butcher'd,
 Old wither'd plants, to wail it with their age.
 Swear not by time to come; for that thou hast
 Misus'd ere us'd, by time misus'd o'erpast.]
K. Rich. [As I intend to prosper and repent,
 So thrive I in my dangerous attempt
 Of hostile arms! myself myself confound!
 Heaven and fortune bar me³ happy hours!]
 Day, yield me not thy light; nor, night, thy
 rest! 401
 Be opposite,⁴ all planets of good luck,
 To my proceeding!—if, with pure heart's love,
 Immaculate devotion, holy thoughts,
 I tender not⁵ thy beauteous princely daughter!
 In her consists my happiness and thine;
 Without her, follows to myself and thee,
 Herself, the land, and many a Christian soul,
 Death, desolation, ruin, and decay:
 [It cannot be avoided but by this; 410
 It will not be avoided but by this.]
 Therefore, dear mother,—I must call you so,—
 Be the attorney of my love to her:
 Plead what I will be, not what I have been;
 [Not my deserts, but what I will deserve:
 Urge the necessity and state of times,
 And be not peevish found in great designs.
Q. Eliz. Shall I be tempted of the devil
 thus?
K. Rich. Ay, if the devil tempt thee to do
 good.
Q. Eliz. Shall I forget myself to be myself?
K. Rich. Ay, if your self's remembrance
 wrong yourself. 421
Q. Eliz. But thou didst kill my children.
K. Rich. But in your daughter's womb I
 bury them:

¹ Hereafter time, time to come.

² Ungovern'd, unrestrained, unguided.

³ Bar me, withhold from me.

⁴ Opposite, contrary, hostile.

⁵ Tender not, do not regard, do not hold dear.

Where, in that nest of spicery, they shall breed
Selves of themselves, to your recomforture.¹

Q. Eliz. Shall I go win my daughter to thy will?

K. Rich. And be a happy mother by the deed.

Q. Eliz. I go.—Write to me very shortly,
And you shall understand from me her mind.

K. Rich. Bear her my true love's kiss; and
so, farewell. 430

[*Kissing her. Exit Queen Elizabeth.*
Relenting fool, and shall-~~w~~-changing woman!

Enter RATCLIFF; CATESBY following.

How now! what news?

Rat. Most mighty sovereign, on the western
coast

Rideth a puissant nav; ; to the shore
Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends,
Unarm'd, and unresolv'd to beat them back:
'T is thought that Richmond is their admiral;
And there they hull, expecting but the aid
Of Buckingham to welcome them ashore.

K. Rich. Some light-foot friend post to the
Duke of Norfolk:— 440

Ratcliff, thyself,—or Catesby; where is he?

Cate. Here, my good lord.

K. Rich. Fly to the duke.—[*To Ratcliff*]
Post thou to Salisbury:

When thou com'st thither,—[*To Catesby*] Dull,
unmindful villain,

Why stay'st thou here, and go'st not to the
duke?

Cate. First, mighty liege, tell me your high-
ness' pleasure,

What from your grace I shall deliver to him.

K. Rich. O, true, good Catesby:—bid him
levy straight

The greatest strength and power that he can
make,

And meet me suddenly² at Salisbury. 450

Cate. I go. [*Exit.*

Rat. What, may it please you, shall I do at
Salisbury?

K. Rich. Why, what wouldst thou do there
before I go?

Rat. Your highness told me I should post
before.

Enter STANLEY.

K. Rich. My mind is chang'd.—Stanley,
what news with you? 455

Stan. None good, my liege, to please you
with the hearing;

Nor none so bad, but well may be reported.

K. Rich. [Hoyday, a riddle! neither good }
nor bad!

What need'st thou run so many miles about,
When thou mayst tell thy tale the nearest
way?] 460

Once more, what news?

Stan. Richmond is on the seas.

K. Rich. There let him sink, and be the
seas on him,

White-liver'd runagate! what doth he there?

Stan. I know not, mighty sovereign, but by
guess.

K. Rich. Well, as you guess?

Stan. Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham,
and Ely,

He makes for England, here, to claim the
crown.

K. Rich. Is the chair empty? is the sword
unuswaid?

Is the king dead? the empire unpossess'd?

[What heir of York is there alive but we? 470 }
And who is England's king but great York's }
heir? }

Then, tell me, what makes he upon the
seas?

Stan. Unless for that, my liege, I cannot
guess.

K. Rich. Unless for that he comes to be
your liege,

You cannot guess wherefore the Welshman
comes.]

Thou wilt revolt, and fly to him, I fear.

Stan. No, my good lord; therefore mistrust
me not.

K. Rich. Where is thy power,³ then, to beat
him back?

Where be thy tenants and thy followers?

Are they not now upon the western shore, 480
Safe-conducting the rebels from their ships?

Stan. No, my good lord, my friends are in
the north.

¹ Recomforture, fresh comfort.

² Suddenly, at once, with all speed.

³ Power, pronounced as a dissyllable.

K. Rich. Cold friends to me: what do they
in the north, 493
When they should serve their sovereign in the
west!

Stan. They have not been commanded,
mighty king:

Pleaseth your majesty to give me leave,
I'll muster up my friends, and meet your grace
Where and what time your majesty shall
please.

K. Rich. Ay, ay, thou wouldst be gone to
join with Richmond:

I will not trust you, sir.

Stan. Most mighty sovereign,
You have no cause to hold my friendship
doubtful: 491

I never was nor never will be false.

K. Rich. Go, then, and muster men. But
leave behind

Your son, George Stanley: look your heart be
firm,

Or else his head's assurance is but frail.

Stan. So deal with him as I prove true to
you. [Exit.]

Enter a Messenger.

Mess. My gracious sovereign, now in Devon-
shire,

[As I by friends am well advertised,]
Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate
Bishop of Exeter, his elder brother, 500
With many more confederates, are in arms.

Enter a second Messenger.

Sec. Mess. In Kent, my liege, the Guildfords
are in arms;

And every hour¹ more competitors²

Flock to the rebels, and their power grows
strong.

Enter a third Messenger.

Third Mess. My lord, the army of great
Buckingham—

K. Rich. Out on ye, owls! nothing but songs
of death? [Strikes him.]

There, take thou that, till thou bring better
news.

Third Mess. The news I have to tell your
majesty

Is, that by sudden floods and fall of waters,
Buckingham's army is dispers'd and scatter'd;
And he himself wander'd away alone, 511
No man knows whither.

K. Rich. Oh, I cry thee mercy:
There is my purse to cure that blow of thine.
Hath any well-advised friend proclaim'd
Reward to him that brings the traitor in?

Third Mess. Such proclamation hath been
made, my lord.

[Enter a fourth Messenger.]

Fourth Mess. Sir Thomas Lovel and Lord
Marquess Dorset,

'Tis said, my liege, in Yorkshire are in
arms.

But this good comfort bring I to your high-
ness,—

The Breton navy is dispers'd by tempest: 520

Richmond, in Dorsetshire, sent out a boat

Unto the shore, to ask those on the banks

If they were his assistants, yea or no;

Who answer'd him, they came from Bucking-
ham

Upon his party:³ he, mistrusting them,

Hois'd sail, and made his course again for
Bretagne.]

K. Rich. March on, march on, since we are
up in arms;

If not to fight with foreign enemies,

Yet to beat down these rebels here at home.

Re-enter CATESBY.

Cate. My liege, the Duke of Buckingham is
taken,— 530

That is the best news: that the Earl of Rich-
mond

Is with a mighty power landed at Milford,

Is colder tidings, yet they must be told.

K. Rich. Away towards Salisbury! while
we reason⁴ here,

A royal battle might be won and lost:—

Some one take order⁵ Buckingham be brought
To Salisbury; the rest march on with me.

[Flourish. Exit.]

¹ Hour, pronounced as a disyllable.

² Competitors, confederates, associates.

³ Upon his party, on his side.

⁴ Reason, converse.

⁵ Take order, give directions that, see to it that.

[SCENE V. A room in LORD STANLEY's house.]

*Enter STANLEY and SIR CHRISTOPHER
URSWICK.**Stan.* Sir Christopher, tell Richmond this
from me:—*That, in the sty of this most bloody boar,
My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold:¹
If I revolt, off goes young George's head;
The fear of that withholds my present aid.**So, get thee gone; commend me to thy lord:
Say that the queen hath heartily consented
He should espouse Elizabeth her daughter.**But, tell me, where is princely Richmond now?**Chris.* At Pembroke, or at Ha'rford-west,²
in Wales. 10• *Stan.* What men of name resort to him?• *Chris.* Sir Walter Herbert, a renowned soldier; 12*Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir William Stanley;
Oxford, redoubted Pembroke, Sir James
Blunt,**And Rice ap Thomas, with a valiant crew;
And many more of noble fame and worth:
And towards London they do bend their
course,**If by the way they be not fought withal.**Stan.* Well, hie thee to thy lord; I kiss his
hand:*These letters will resolve him of³ my mind. 20**[Giving letters.]**Farewell.**[Exeunt.]*

ACT V.

[SCENE I. Salisbury. An open place.]

*Enter the Sheriff, and Guard, with BUCKING-
HAM, led to execution.**Buck.* Will not King Richard let me speak
with him?*Sher.* No, my good lord; therefore be patient.⁴*Buck.* Hastings, and Edward's children,
Rivers, Grey,*Holy King Henry, and thy fair son Edward,
Vaughan,⁵ and all that have miscarried⁶**By underhand corrupted foul injustice,—**If that your moody discontented souls**Do through the clouds behold this present hour,**Even for revenge mock my destruction!—**This is All-Souls' day, fellow, is it not? 10**Buck.* Why, then All-Souls' day is my body's
doomsday.*This is the day which, in King Edward's time,**I wish'd might fall on me, when I was found**False to his children and his wife's allies;**This is the day wherein I wish'd to fall**By the false faith of him whom most I trusted;
This, this All-Souls' day to my fearful soul**Is the determin'd respite of my wrongs:⁷**That high All-seer which I dallied with 20**Hath turn'd my feigned prayer⁸ on my head,**And given in earnest what I begg'd in jest.**Thus doth he force the swords of wicked men**To turn their own points on their masters'**bosoms:**Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my
neck,—**"When he," quoth she, "shall split thy heart
with sorrow,**Remember Margaret was a prophetess."—**Come, sirs, convey me to the block of shame;**Wrong hath but wrong, and blame the due of
blame.] [Exeunt.]*

[SCENE II. Plain near Tamworth.]

*Enter, with drum and colours, RICHMOND, OX-
FORD, SIR JAMES BLUNT, SIR WALTER HER-
BERT, and others, with Forces, marching.**Richm.* Fellows in arms, and my most lov-
ing friends,*Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny,*¹ Frank'd up in hold, steyd up in prison.² Ha'rford-west, Haverford-west.³ Resolves him of, acquaint him with.⁴ Patient, here a trisyllable.⁵ Vaughan, pronounced here as a disyllable.⁶ Have miscarried, have come to a violent end.⁷ i.e. "Is the fixed time to which the punishment of
my wrong-doings is respite."⁸ Prayer, pronounced as a disyllable.

Thus far into the bowels of the land
 Have we march'd on without impediment;
 And here receive we from our father Stanley
 Lines of fair comfort and encouragement.
 The wretched,¹ bloody, and usurping boar,
 That spoil'd your summer fields and fruitful
 vines,
 Swills your warm blood like wash, and makes
 his trough

In your embowell'd² bosoms, — this foul
 swine

Lies now even in the centre of this isle,
 Near to the town of Leicester, as we learn:
 From Tamworth thither is but one day's
 march.

In God's name, cheerly on, courageous friends,
 To reap the harvest of perpetual peace
 By this one bloody trial of sharp war.



Richm. Fellows in arms, and my most loving friends,
 Bruis'd underneath the yoke of tyranny.—(Act v. 2 1, 2.)

Oxf. Every man's conscience is a thousand
 men,

To fight against this guilty homicide.

Herb. I doubt not but his friends will turn
 to us.

Blunt. He hath no friends but what are
 friends for fear,

Which in his dearest³ need will fly from him.

Richm. All for our vantage. Then, in God's
 name, march:

True hope is swift, and flies with swallow's
 wings;

Kings it makes gods, and meaner creatures
 kings.

[*Exeunt.*]

¹ Wretched = vile.

² Embowell'd, i. e. disembowelled.

³ Dearest, most urgent.

SCENE III. *Bosworth field.*

[*Enter KING RICHARD and Forces, the DUKE OF NORFOLK, EARL OF SURREY, RATCLIFF, and others.*]

K. Rich. Here pitch our tent, even here in
 Bosworth field.—

My Lord of Surrey, why look you so sad?

Sur. My heart is ten times lighter than my
 looks.

K. Rich. My Lord of Norfolk,—

Nor. Here, most gracious liege.

K. Rich. Norfolk, we must have knocks; ha!
 must we not?

Nor. We must both give and take, my lov-
 ing lord.

K. Rich. Up with my tent! here will I lie to-night;

[*Soldiers begin to set up the King's tent.*
where to-morrow? Well, all's one for that.—

Who hath descried the number of the traitors?
Nor. Six or seven thousand is their utmost power. 10

K. Rich. Why, our battalia¹ trebles that account:

Besides, the king's name is a tower of strength,
Which they upon the adverse faction want.—

Up with the tent!—Come, noble gentlemen,
Let us survey the vantage of the ground;—
Call for some men of sound direction:—
Let's lack no discipline, make no delay;
For, lords, to-morrow is a busy day. [*Exeunt.*]

Enter, on the other side of the field, RICHMOND, SIR WILLIAM BRANDON, SIR WALTER HERBERT, OXFORD, and others. Some of the Soldiers pitch RICHMOND's tent.

Richm. The weary sun hath made a golden set,
And, by the bright track of his fiery car, 20
Gives token of a goodly day to-morrow.—
Sir William Brandon, you shall bear my standard.—

Give me some ink and paper in my tent:
I'll draw the form and model of our battle,
Limit each leader to his several charge,
And part in just proportion our small power.—
[*My Lord of Oxford,—you, Sir William Brandon,—*

And you, Sir Walter Herbert,—stay with me.—

The Earl of Pembroke keeps his regiment:—
Good Captain Blunt, bear my good-night to him, 30

And by the second hour in the morning
Desire the earl to see me in my tent:
Yet one thing more, good captain, do for me,—]
Where is Lord Stanley quarter'd, do you know?

Blunt. [Unless I have mista'en his colours much,—

Which well I am assur'd I have not done,—]
His regiment lies half a mile at least
South from the mighty power of the king.

Richm. If without peril it be possible,

Sweet Blunt, make some good means² to speak with him, 40

And give him from me this most needful note.
Blunt. Upon my life, my lord, I'll undertake it;

And so, God give you quiet rest to-night!

Richm. Good night, good Captain Blunt
[*Exit Blunt.*] Come, gentlemen,
Let us consult upon to-morrow's business:
In to my tent; the air is raw and cold.

[*They withdraw into the tent.*]

Re-enter, to his tent, KING RICHARD, NORFOLK, RATCLIFF, CATESBY, and others.

K. Rich. What is't o'clock?

Cate. It's supper-time, my lord;
It's nine o'clock.

K. Rich. I will not sup to-night.—
Give me some ink and paper.—

What, is my heaven³ easier than it was? 50
And all my armour laid into my tent?

Cate. It is, my liege; and all things are in readiness.

K. Rich. Good Norfolk, hie thee to thy charge;

Use careful watch, choose trusty sentinels.

Nor. I go, my lord.

K. Rich. Stir with the lark to-morrow, gentle Norfolk.

Nor. I warrant you, my lord. [*Exit.*]

K. Rich. Catesby,—

Cate. My lord?

K. Rich. Send out a pursuivant-at-arms
To Stanley's regiment; bid him bring his power
Before sunrising, lest his son George fall 61
Into the blind cave of eternal night.

[*Exit Catesby.*]

[*To various attendants*] Fill me a bowl of wine.
—Give me a watch.⁴—

Saddle white Surrey for the field to-morrow.—
Look that my staves⁵ be sound, and not too heavy.—

[*Ratcliff,—*

Rat. My lord?

K. Rich. Saw'st thou the melancholy Lord
Northumberland?

² Make some good means, i.e. contrive some opportunity.

³ Beaver, properly the vizor of the helmet; here—the helmet itself.

⁴ Watch, i.e. watch-light.

⁵ Staves, the shafts of lances.

¹ Battalia, noun singular—armed force.

Rat. Thomas the Earl of Surrey, and himself,
Much about cock-shut time,¹ from troop to
troop

Went through the army, cheering up the sol-
diers. 70

K. Rich. I'm satisfied.]—Give me a bowl
of wine:

I have not that alacrity of spirit,
Nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have.

[*Wine brought.*

So, set it down.—Is ink and paper ready?

Rat. It is, my lord.

K. Rich. Bid my guard watch; [*to the at-
tendants*] leave me.—Ratcliff,

About the mid of night come to my tent
And help to arm me.—Leave me, I say.

[*King Richard retires into his tent, and
sleeps. Exeunt Ratcliff and others.*

*RICHMOND's tent opens, and discovers him and
his Officers, &c. Enter STANLEY.*

Stan. Fortune and victory sit on thy helm!

Richm. All comfort that the dark night can
afford 80

Be to thy person, noble father-in-law!

Tell me, how fares our loving mother?

Stan. I, by attorney, bless thee from thy
mother,

Who prays continually for Richmond's good:

So much for that.—The silent hours steal on,

And flaky² darkness breaks within the east.

In brief,—for so the season bids us be,—

Prepare thy battle early in the morning,

And put thy fortune to th' arbitrement 89

Of bloody strokes and mortal-staring³ war.]

I, as I may,—that which I would I cannot,—

With best advantage will deceive the time,

And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms:

[*But on thy side I may not be too forward,*

Lest, being seen, thy brother, tender George,

Be executed in his father's sight.]

Farewell: the leisure⁴ and the fearful time

Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love

[*And ample interchange of sweet discourse,*

Which so long sunder'd friends should dwell

upon: 100

God give us leisure for these rites of love!]

Once more, adieu: be valiant, and speed well!

Richm. Good lords, conduct him to his regi-
ment: 108

I'll strive, with troubled thoughts, to take a
nap,

Lest leaden slumber peise⁵ me down to-mor-
row,

When I should mount with wings of victory:

Once more, good night, kind lords and gentle-
men. [*Exeunt Officers, &c. with Stanley.*

O Thou, whose captain I account myself

Look on my forces with a gracious eye;

Put in thy hands Thy bruising irons of
wrath, 110

That they may crush down with a heavy fall

Th' usurping helmets of our adversaries!

Make us Thy ministers of chastisement,

That we may praise Thee in the victory!

To Thee I do commend my watchful soul,

Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes:

Sleeping and waking, O defend me still!

[*Sleeps.*

[*The Ghost of PRINCE EDWARD, son to KING
HENRY THE SIXTH, rises between the two tents.*

Ghost. [*To King Richard*] Let me sit heavy
on thy soul to-morrow!

Think, how thou stabb'dst me in my prime of
youth

At Tewksbury: despair, therefore, and die!—

[*To Richmond*] Be cheerful, Richmond; for
the wronged souls 121

Of butcher'd princes fight in thy behalf:

King Henry's issue, Richmond, comforts thee.

The Ghost of KING HENRY THE SIXTH rises.

Ghost. [*To King Richard*] When I was
mortal, my anointed body

By thee was punched full of deadly holes:

Think on the Tower and me: despair, and
die,—

Harry the Sixth bids thee despair, and die!—

[*To Richmond*] Virtuous and holy, be thou
conqueror!

Harry, that prophesied thou shouldst be king,
Thee in thy sleep doth comfort: live and
flourish!]

¹ Cock-shut time, i.e. twilight.

² Flaky, broken into flakes by the light.

³ Mortal-staring, i.e. having a deadly stare.

⁴ The leisure, i.e. "the time we have to spare."

⁵ Peise, weigh.

The Ghost of CLARENCE rises.

Ghost. [To King Richard] Let me sit heavy
on thy soul to-morrow! 181

I, that was wash'd to death with fulsome¹ wine,
Poor Clarence, by thy guile betray'd to death!
To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall² thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!

[To Richmond] Thou offspring of the house
of Lancaster, •

The wronged heirs of York do pray for thee:
Good angels guard thy battle!³ live, and
flourish!

*The Ghosts of RIVERS, GREY, and VAUGHAN,
rise.*

Ghost of Riv. [To King Richard] Let me sit
heavy on thy sou¹ to-morrow,

Rivers, that died at Pomfret! despair, and die!

Ghost of Grey. [To King Richard] Think
upon Grey, and let thy soul despair! 141

Ghost of Vaugh. [To King Richard] Think
upon Vaughan, and, with guilty fear,
fall thy lance: despair, and die!

All three. [To Richmond] Awake, and think
our wrongs in Richard's bosom
Will conquer him!—awake, and win the day!]

The Ghost of HASTINGS rises.

Ghost. [To King Richard] Bloody and guilty,
guiltily awake,

And in a bloody battle end thy days!

Think on Lord Hastings: despair, and die!—

[To Richmond] Quiet untroubled soul, awake,
awake!

Arm, fight, and conquer, for fair England's
sake!] 150

The Ghosts of the two young Princes rise.

Ghosts. [To King Richard] Dream on thy
cousins smother'd in the Tower:

Let us be laid within thy bosom, Richard,

And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death!

Thy nephews' souls bid thee despair, and die!—

[To Richmond] Sleep, Richmond, sleep in
peace, and wake in joy;

Good angels guard thee from the boar's annoy!⁴

Live, and beget a happy race of kings!
Edward's unhappy sons do bid thee flourish.]

The Ghost of QUEEN ANNE rises.

Ghost. [To King Richard] Richard, thy wife,
that wretched Anne thy wife,

That never slept a quiet hour with thee, 160

Now fills thy sleep with perturbations:

To-morrow in the battle think on me,

And fall thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!—

[To Richmond] Thou quiet soul, sleep thou
a quiet sleep;

Dream of success and happy victory!

Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.]

The Ghost of BUCKINGHAM rises.

Ghost. [To King Richard] The first was I
that help'd thee to the crown;

The last was I that felt thy tyranny:

O, in the battle think on Buckingham,

And die in terror of thy guiltiness! 170

Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and
death:

Fainting, despair; despairing, yield thy
breath!—

[To Richmond] I died for hope⁵ ere I could
lend thee aid:

But cheer thy heart, and be thou not dismay'd:

God and good angels fight on Richmond's side;

And Richard fall⁶ in height of all his pride.]

[The Ghosts vanish. King Richard
starts out of his dream.

K. Rich. Give me another horse,—bind up
my wounds,—

Have mercy, Jesu!—Soft! I did but dream.—

O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!—

The lights burn blue.—It is now dead mid-
night. 180

Cold fearful drops stand on my trembling flesh.

What? do I fear myself?—there's none else by:

Richard loves Richard; that is, I am I.

Is there a murderer here? No;—Yes, I am:

[Then fly. What, from myself? Great reason
why,—

Lest I revenge myself upon myself.

Alack, I love myself. Wherefore? for any
good

¹ *Fulsome*,

² *Battle* = forces.

³ *Fall*, i.e. let fall.

⁴ *Annoy*, injury.

⁵ *For hope*, i.e. as far as all hope was concerned; or, elliptically, = for want of hope.

⁶ *Richard fall*, i.e. may Richard fall.

That I myself have done unto myself?
O no! alas, I rather hate myself
For hateful deeds committed by myself! 190
I am a villain: yet I lie, I am not.
Fool, of thyself speak well:—fool, do not
flatter.]

My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.

Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
Murder, stern murder, in the dir'st degree;
[All several sins, all us'd in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all "Guilty! guilty!"
I shall despair. There is no creature loves
me; 200
And if I die, no soul shall pity me:
[Nay, wherefore should they,—since that I
myself



*Ghost of Q. Anne. To-morrow in the battle think on me,
And fall thy edgeless sword: despair, and die!—(Act v. 3. 162, 163.)*

Find in myself no pity to myself?— 204
Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
Came to my tent; and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.]

Re-enter RATCLIFF.

Rat. My lord, --

K. Rich. Who's there?

Rat. My lord, 't is I. [The early village-
cock 209

Hath twice done salutation to the morn;]

Your friends are up, and buckle on their armour.

K. Rich. O Ratcliff, I have dream'd a fear-
ful dream!— 212

What thinkest thou,—will our friends prove
all true?

Rat. No doubt, my lord.

K. Rich. O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear!

Rat. Nay, good my lord, be not afraid of
shadows.

K. Rich. By the apostle Paul, shadows to-
night

Have struck more terror to the soul of Richard
Than can the substance of ten thousand
soldiers

Armed in proof and led by shallow Richmond.
It is not yet fear day. Come, go with me; 220
Under our tents I'll play the eaves-dropper,
To hear if any mean to shrink from me.

[*Exeunt King Richard and Ratcliff.*]

*Re-enter OXFORD, with other Lords, &c. to
RICHMOND'S tent.*

[*Lords.* Good morrow, Richmond!

Richm. [waking]. Cry mercy,¹ lords and
watchful gentlemen,

That you have ta'en a tidy sluggard here.]

Lords. How have you slept, my lord?

Richm. The sweetest sleep, and fairest-
boding dreams

That ever enter'd in a drowsy head,
Have I since your departure had, my lords.

[*Methought their souls, whose bodies Richard
murder'd,* 230

came to my tent, and cried on² victory:

*I promise you³ my heart is very jocund
in the remembrance of so fair a dream.]*

How far into the morning is it, lords?

Lords. Upon the stroke of four.

Richm. Why, then 't is time to arm and give
direction.

[*He advances and addresses the troops.*

More than I have said, loving countrymen,
The leisure and enforcement of the time⁴
Forbids to dwell upon: yet remember this,—
God and our good cause fight upon our side;
The prayers of holy saints and wronged souls,
Like high-rear'd bulwarks, stand before our
faces; 242

Richard except,⁵ those whom we fight against
Had rather have us win than him they follow:
For what is he they follow? truly, gentlemen,
A bloody tyrant and a homicide;

Onerais'd in blood, and one in blood establish'd;
[One that made means⁶ to come by what he
hath,

¹ Cry mercy = I beg your pardon.

² Cried on, i.e. cried out.

³ The leisure, &c., i.e. "the time, necessarily so small,
at my disposal."

⁴ Richard except = Richard being excepted.

⁵ Made means, contrived, or plotted the means.

And slaughter'd those that were the means to
help him; 249

A base foul stone, made precious by the foil⁶

Of England's chair, where he is falsely set;

One that hath ever been God's enemy:

Then, if you fight against God's enemy,

God will, in justice, ward you as his soldiers;]

If you do sweat to put a tyrant down,

You sleep in peace, the tyrant being slain;

If you do fight against your country's foes,

Your country's fat shall pay your pains the hire;

If you do fight in safeguard of your wives, 250

Your wives shall welcome home the conquerors;

If you do free your children from the sword,

Your children's children quit it in your age.

Then, in the name of God and all these rights,

Advance your standards, draw your willing
swords.

For me, the ransom of my bold attempt
Shall be this cold corpse on the earth's cold
face;

But if I thrive, the gain of my attempt

The least of you shall share his part thereof.

Sound drums and trumpets, boldly, cheerfully;

God and Saint George! Richmond and victory!

[*Exeunt.*]

*Re-enter KING RICHARD, RATCLIFF, Attendants,
and Forces.*

K. Rich. [What said Northumberland as
touching Richmond? 271

Rat. That he was never trained up in arms.

K. Rich. He said the truth: and what said
Surrey, then?

Rat. He smil'd, and said, "The better for
our purpose."

K. Rich. He was in the right; and so, indeed,
it is. [Clock strikes.

Tell the clock there.⁷—Give me a calendar.—
Who saw the sun to-day?

Rat. Not I, my lord.

K. Rich. Then he disdains to shine; for, by
the book,

He should have brav'd⁸ the east an hour ago:
A black day will it be to somebody.— 280

[*Ratcliff,—*

Rat. My lord?

⁶ Foil, i.e. jeweller's foil, used to set off a precious stone.

⁷ Tell the clock there, i.e. count what hour it strikes.

⁸ Brav'd, made brave, i.e. gay, splendid.

K. Rich. The sun will not be seen to-day;
The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.
I would these dewy tears were from the ground.
Not shine to-day! Why, what is that to me
More than to Richmond? for the selfsame heaven
That frowns on me looks sadly upon him.

Enter NORFOLK.

Nor. Arm, arm, my lord; the foe vaunts¹ in the field.

K. Rich. Come, bustle, bustle;—caparison² my horse;— 290

Call up Lord Stanley, bid him bring his power:
I will lead forth my soldiers to the plain,
And thus my battle³ shall be ordered:—
My forward shall be drawn out all in length,
Consisting equally of horse and foot;
Our archers shall be placed in the midst:
John Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Earl of Surrey,
Shall have the leading of the foot and horse.
They thus directed, we will follow
In the main battle; whose puissance on either
side 299

Shall be well winged with our chiefest horse.
This, and Saint George to boot!—What think'st thou, Norfolk?

Nor. A good direction, warlike sovereign.—
This found I on my tent this morning.

[Giving a scroll.]

K. Rich. [Reads] "Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,

For Dickon thy master is bought and sold."

A thing devised by the enemy.—

[Throwing the scroll away.]

Go, gentlemen, every man unto his charge:

[Aside, to himself] Let not our babbling dreams
affright our souls;

Conscience is but a word that cowards use,
Devis'd at first to keep the strong in awe: 310
Our strong arms be our conscience, swords our law.

[[To Norfolk and others] March on, join
bravely, let us to't pell-mell;

If not to heaven, then hand in hand to hell.—]

[To his Soldiers] What shall I say more than
I have infer'd!

¹ *Vaunts*, makes a bold display.

² *Caparison*, i.e. put on his trappings and armour.

³ *Battle*, forces.

Remember whom you are to cope withal;—
A sort⁴ of vagabonds, rascals, runaways,
A scum of Bretons, and base lackey peasants,
Whom their o'er-cloyed country vomits forth
To desperate ventures and assur'd destruction.
[You sleeping safe, they bring to you unrest;
You having lands, and bless'd with beauteous
wives, 321
They would distrai⁵n the one, distain⁶ the
other.

And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow,
Long kept in Bretagne at our mother's cost;
A milk-sop, one that never in his life
Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow?]
Let's whip these stragglers o'er the seas again;
Lash hence those overweening rags of France,
These famish'd beggars, weary of their lives;
Who, but for dreaming on this fond exploit,
For want of means, poor rats, had hang'd
themselves: 331

If we be conquer'd, let men conquer us,
And not these bastard Bretons; [whom our
fathers

Have in their own land beaten, bob'd,⁷ and
thump'd,

And, on record, left them the heirs of shame.
Shall these enjoy our lands? lie with our wives?
Ravish our daughters?—] *[Drum afar off.]*

Hark! I hear their drum.—

Fight, gentlemen of England! fight, bold yeo-
men!

Draw, archers, draw your arrows to the head!

[Spur your proud horses hard, and ride in
blood; 340

Amaze the welkin with your broken staves!⁸]

Enter a Messenger.

What says Lord Stanley? will he bring his
power?

Mess. My lord, he doth deny to come.

K. Rich. Off with his son's head!

Nor. My lord, the enemy is past the marsh!
After the battle let George Stanley die.

K. Rich. A thousand hearts are great within
my bosom:

Advance our standards, set upon our foes;

⁴ *Sort*, company.

⁵ *Distrain*, seize. ⁶ *Distain*, pollute.

⁷ *Bob'd*, smacked, struck sharply.

⁸ *Staves*, the shafts of pikes or lances.

Our ancient word of courage, fair St. George,
Inspire us with the spleen of fiery dragons!
Upon them! Victory sits on our helms. 351

[*Exeunt.*]

SCENE IV. *Another part of the field.*

Alarums: excursions. Enter NORFOLK and Forces; to him CATESBY.

Cate. Rescue, my Lord of Norfolk, rescue, rescue!

The king enacts more wonders than a man,
Daring an opposite¹ to every danger:
His horse is slain, and all on foot he fights,
Seeking for Richmond in the throat of death.
Rescue, fair lord, or else the day is lost!

Alarums. Enter KING RICHARD.

K. Rich. A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!

Cate. Withdraw, my lord; I'll help you to a horse.

K. Rich. Slave, I have set my life upon a cast,
And I will stand the hazard of the die: 10
I think there be six Richmonds in the field;
Five have I slain to-day instead of him.—
A horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!

[*Exeunt.*]

Alarums. Re-enter KING RICHARD driving RICHMOND before him, attacking him with fury; they fight; KING RICHARD falls. [Retreat and flourish. Exit RICHMOND.]

[SCENE V. *Another part of the field.*]

Enter RICHMOND, with STANLEY bearing the crown, and divers other Lords, and Forces.

Richm. God and your arms be prais'd, victorious friends!

The day is ours, the bloody dog is dead.

Stan. Courageous Richmond, well hast thou acquit thee.

Lo, here, this long-usurped royalty²

From the dead temples of this bloody wretch
Have I pluck'd off, to grace thy brows withal:
Wear it, enjoy it, and make much of it

¹ An opposite, i.e. an adversary.

² This long-usurped royalty, i.e. the crown which he has in his hand.

Richm. Great God of heaven, say Amen to all!—

But, tell me, is the young George Stanley living?

Stan. He is, my lord, and safe in Leicester town; 10

Whither, if 't please you, we may now withdraw us.

Richm. What men of name are slain on either side?

Stan. John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers,
Sir Robert Brakenbury, and Sir William Brandon.

Richm. Inter their bodies as becomes their births:

Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled
That in submission will return to us:

And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,
We will unite the white rose and the red:—
Smile heaven³ upon this fair conjunction, 20
That long hath frown'd upon their enmity!—
What traitor hears me, and says not Amen?
England hath long been mad and scarr'd herself;

The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,
The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire:
All this divided York and Lancaster,
Divided in their dire division,
O, now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true successors of each royal house, 30
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!
And let their heirs—God, if thy will be so—
Enrich the time to come with smooth-fac'd

peace,
With smiling plenty, and fair prosperous days!
Abate⁴ the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,
That would reduce⁵ these bloody days again,
And make poor England weep in streams of blood!

Let them not live to taste this land's increase
That would with treason wound this fair land's peace! 39

Now civil wounds are stopp'd, peace lives agen:
That she may long live here, God say Amen!

[*Exeunt.*]

³ Smile heaven, i.e. may heaven smile.

⁴ Abate, i.e. blunt.

⁵ Reduce, bring back.

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE KING RICHARD III.



NOTES TO KING RICHARD III.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

1. EDWARD IV. Although Henry VI. did not die till 1471, and although, for a brief period, from October,

1470, to April, 1471, Henry was nominally restored to the crown; still the reign of Edward is always dated from 1461, on the 21st of June of which year he was crowned at Westminster, having assumed the title of king on the

4th March in the same year. Edward died on 9th April, 1483, having reigned twenty-two years. After the atrocious murder of Henry VI.'s son, Prince Edward, of which we have already given an account in III. Henry VI. note 2, Edward distinguished himself by the treacherous execution of a number of the Lancastrians, who had taken sanctuary in the church at Tewksbury after the battle. The Lancastrians, when victorious, had always respected the rights of sanctuary, which makes these murders, for they were nothing less, the more atrocious. According to the accounts of all the chroniclers, Edward tried to enter the church, but was prevented by the priest, who met him at the door with the consecrated host in his hand, and would not let him enter till he had granted pardon to those who had taken refuge in the church. This was on Saturday. On the following morning the Duke of Somerset, the Lord Prior of St John's, seven knights and seven squires, according to Stow, were taken out and beheaded. The excuse, offered by the partisans of Edward for this cowardly crime, was that the persons executed had taken refuge not in the church, but in the abbey and its precincts. But there seems to be no doubt that all the persons executed were distinctly included in the promise given on Saturday. Whether Edward was an accomplice in the murder of King Henry is not known. In 1473 Edward accepted an invitation to hunt with Neville, the Archbishop of York, at his place in Hertfordshire; but, instead of paying the visit, Edward sent for the archbishop to Windsor, arrested him, confiscated the revenues of the bishopric, and kept him in prison for three years, partly in England, partly at Guines, till 1476; when he was released, but only survived his release a few weeks. Edward justly distrusted the security of his claim to the throne, and tried to get possession, by treachery, of the person of Henry Earl of Richmond, who, with his uncle the Earl of Pembroke, had taken refuge in Brittany. The duke, believing Edward's hypocritical assurances, thought he only wanted the Earl of Richmond in order to marry him to his daughter Elizabeth, and delivered up his young guest. But, fortunately, before they had sailed, he got wind of the intended treachery of Edward; and brought the young Henry back into sanctuary at St. Malo. The next quarter from which Edward foresaw danger was from his brothers, Clarence and Gloucester, who were both intriguing to get the fortune of the late Earl of Warwick. Clarence, having married the elder daughter, was sure of his portion; and Richard thought that by securing the younger daughter, the young widow of the late Prince of Wales, he would be able to obtain half the fortune. It mattered nothing to either of these noble personages that the Countess of Warwick was still alive, and entitled by law to most of the property in dispute. Matters were arranged in some way, by the help of an act of parliament, so that both the royal dukes got a share of the plunder, but they were not content. There seems to have been no love lost between any of the three brothers; for, in 1477, Clarence, then a widower, had been thwarted in his intrigues to obtain the hand of Mary, sole daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy, mainly through the resolute opposition of Edward. The ill-feeling between the two brothers could no longer be

concealed; and in the beginning of the next year Clarence was indicted for high treason, and condemned to death. Into the wars which Edward carried on with France and Scotland it is not necessary to enter. Both were connected with his projects of marrying two of his daughters, or rather affiancing them; for he looked a long way ahead in his attempts to provide for his children. Lewis XI., no doubt, sanctioned the contract of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Edward, to the dauphin; and Cecily, the next daughter, was contracted to the Prince of Scotland. By his quarrel with France Edward gained something; for Lewis XI. settled on him an annuity for life of 50,000 crowns besides paying him 75,000 crowns down, and 5000 crowns for the ransom of Margaret of Anjou. But in his transactions with King James of Scotland he did not fare so well, as he paid instalments of the dowry of Cecily without the marriage being carried out. Edward's death, which took place in April, 1483, was attributed by some to the intense disappointment which he felt with regard to the failure of his scheme for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the dauphin. By others the illness, which ended fatally, is attributed to his debaucheries and to his gluttony. He made an edifying end. Hall gives a long speech which he addressed to the nobles of his court on his death-bed. There is no doubt that Hall's very favourable estimate of Edward's character is not supported by facts. He had very great physical advantages, and a winning manner which stood him in good stead, when he made personal application for the benevolences, so called, which at one time he exacted from his subjects. He was accomplished and physically brave; but his self-indulgence gradually sapped the vigour of his mind, so that towards the end of his reign he left the management of many of the affairs of his realm in the hands of others. He had a wonderful memory, which never forgot a face or an injury. Though prodigal in his expenses, and profligate in his pleasures, he was of a suspicious and covetous nature. There is no shutting one's eyes to the many cruelties of which he was guilty. But he was undoubtedly very popular with the greater portion of his subjects; a popularity which he owed to his great personal beauty, and to that happy adaptability of disposition which enabled him to converse with his inferiors as if they were his equals. He had great abilities, both as a statesman and a general; but his moral qualities, as is the case with most kings, were in no wise admirable.

Edward had by his wife three sons and seven daughters, the exact dates of whose respective births it is not easy to ascertain. The old chroniclers are very vague on this point, and more modern authorities differ very much among themselves, while some have fallen into manifest errors. The chief difficulty has been with regard to the exact date of the birth of the Duke of York (see Notes and Queries, 7th S. ii. 367, 471, and iii. 15). Besides the young princes, whose memoirs are given below, there was a third son, George, created Duke of Bedford, the date of whose birth does not seem to be known; but it must have been some time after 1474—some say in 1477. He died some time before 1482. Of the daughters, Elizabeth was born 11th February, 1466. In a MS. in the British Museum (Additional MS. 6118, Fol. 48 b)—appa-

rently a contemporary one with notes and additions made at a slightly later period—she is called “the Dolphiness, of France” (see above). She never married the dauphin; but, after having had a narrow escape of being the wife of Richard III., she became the queen of Henry VII. The second daughter, Mary, was born 14th August, 1467. She was betrothed in 1481 to the Prince of Denmark, but died unmarried in May, 1482. The third daughter, Cicely, born 1468 or 1469 (see above), married first John Viscount Welles, and secondly Sir John (?Thomas) Kyme, and died without issue, 1507. The fourth daughter was Margaret, born in April, 1472. She died in December of the same year (see Notes and Queries, 7th S. iii. p. 15). The fifth daughter was Anne, born at Westminster in 1475. She married Thomas Howard, third Duke of Norfolk, and died about 1511, leaving no issue. The sixth was Catherine, born at Eltham, 1479; she married the well-known William Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and died about 1527. Their only son, created Marquis of Exeter, was executed in 1556 by Henry VIII., and with him their line ended. The seventh daughter was Bridget, born at Eltham, 10th November, 1480; she became a nun and died at Dartford in 1517. The above list is compiled after reference to and collation of the best authorities; and the sequence of birth, in which the daughters are given, is confirmed by a memorandum of Richard III., dated 1483, the object of which was to induce the widow of Edward IV. to leave the sanctuary at Westminster with her daughters, “that is to wit Elizabeth, Cecill, Anne, Katern, and Brigitte” (Ellis’s Original Letters, letter xlvii. p. 149). As Mary and Margaret were both dead at this date it will be seen that Richard enumerates the daughters according to the date of their birth.

2. EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, AFTERWARDS KING EDWARD V. This unfortunate prince was born in the Sanctuary, Westminster, 4th November, 1470, at a very critical period in the history of his father, who had just been compelled to fly from his kingdom, owing to the rebellion of Warwick and his brother, Clarence, through which Henry VI. was, for a short time, restored to the throne. Queen Elizabeth had been in the Tower with her family; but finding that the people were all declaring for King Henry she took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster, where she, as Hall says (p. 285): “in great penurie forsakē of all her frenedes, was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edward, which was with small pōpe like a pore mans child Christened & Baptised, the God-fathers being the Abbot & Pryor of Westmynster, & the godmother the lady Scrope.” He was proclaimed king, 9th April, 1483; but the council which unanimously proclaimed him king was rent by the most serious divisions. The favour, which Edward IV. had shown to his wife’s relations at court, brought on them the bitter enmity even of those who like Lord Hastings were most attached to his own party; and, unfortunately for the young king, the party who were opposed to the queen too readily adopted the treacherous Gloucester as their ally. It was scarcely three weeks after the young king’s proclamation when Gloucester had treacherously seized Earl Rivers and Lord Grey, and got the young king into his power. Queen Elizabeth with her second son Richard and her

five daughters took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster. This was on 1st May. Three days afterwards Gloucester brought his nephew, who was now little more than a prisoner, into London, when he was lodged in the Tower, and his uncle appointed Protector. The coronation had been fixed for 22nd June, but it never took place. On the 29th of that month, after some proceedings very properly described as a hypocritical farce, Richard took his seat on the throne in Westminster Hall, having virtually elected himself king, and on the 6th July following he was crowned. Shortly afterwards, and probably in the next month, August, the two young princes, Edward and his brother Richard, were murdered in the Tower.

The following curious accounts are given in Fastell’s Chronicle, first printed in 1529. We have quoted the exact words of the Chronicler, because it is evident, from the details given, that these accounts must have been founded on some well-defined tradition:

“But of the maner of the dethe of this yonge kynge, and of his brother, there were dyners opynions; but the most cōmyn opynion was, that they were smolderyd betwene two fetherbeddes, and that, in the doyng, the yonger brother escaped from vnder the fetherbeddes, and crept vnder the bedstede, and there lay naked a whyle, tyll that they had smolderyd the yonge kyng so that he was surely dede; and after y, one of them toke his brother from vnder the bedstede, and hyde his face downe to the grounde with his one hande, and with the other hande out his throte bolle a sonder with t. dagger. It is a meruayle that any man coude haue so harde a harte to do so cruell a dede, saue onely that necesayte compelled them, for they were so charged by the duke, the protectour, that if they shewed nat to hym the bodyes of bothe those chylderne dede, on the morowe after they were so cōmaunded, that than they them selfe shulde be put to dethe. Wherefore they that were so cōmaunded to do it, were compelled to fulfill the protectours wyll.

“And after that, the bodyes of these .ii. chylderne, as the opynion ranne, were bothe closed in a great heuy cheste, and, by the meanes of one that was secrete with the protectour, they were put in a shyppe goynge to Flaunders; and, whan the shyppe was in the blacke depes, this man threw bothe those dede bodyes, so closed in the cheste, ouer the hatches into the see; and yet none of the maryners, nor none in the shyppe, saue onely the sayd man, wist what thynges it was that was there so inclosed. Whiche sayenge dyuers men conlectured to be trewe, because that the bones of the sayd chylderne coude neuer be founde buryed, nother in the Towre nor in no nother place.

“Another opynion there is, that they whiche had the charge to put them to dethe, caused one to crye sodaynly, ‘Treason, treason. Wherwith the chylderne beyng a ferde, desyred to knowe what was best for them to do. And than they bad them hyde them selfe in a great cheste, that no man shulde fynde them, and if any body came into the chambre they wolde say they were nat there. And accordynge as they counsellid them, they crepte bothe into the cheste, whiche, anone after, they locked. And then anone they buryed that cheste in a great pytte vnder a steyre, which they before had made therfore, and anone cast erthe thereon, and so buryed them quykly.

Whiche cheste was after caste into the blacke depes, as is before sayde" (Dibdin's Reprint, 1811, pp. 292, 298).

3. RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, was born 17th August, 1473, at Shrewsbury. The date of his birth is generally given as 1472; but in a letter from Sir John Paston to his brother, written on the "last dayes of Apryll," 1472, he says: "The Queen hadde chylde, a dowghter, but late at Wyndesore; ther off I trow ye hadde word" (Paston Letters, vol. iii. p. 40). This daughter was Margaret (see above, note 1), and Sir John Paston's statement is amply confirmed by the evidence of her tomb in Westminster Abbey, which existed in 1742 (see Notes and Queries, 7th S. iii. 15). It is pretty certain that this young prince shared the unhappy fate of his brother in the Tower, although the bodies were never found. In spite of the confession of the murderers, some doubt existed as to the fate of the younger brother. Taking advantage of these doubts, "ne Perkin Warbeck personated him. Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV., received Perkin with open arms; and James IV. of Scotland gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntly. In 1497 he landed in Cornwall, where numerous sympathizers joined his standard and laid siege to Exeter. But when the royal army came in sight, he took to flight, and sought refuge in the sanctuary at Beaulieu in Hampshire. On a promise of his life being spared he surrendered himself on 8th June, 1498. He was compelled to stand for two days in the stocks, and to read a confession of his imposture. He was afterwards committed to the Tower; and, eventually, in 1499, having entered into a plot with the Earl of Warwick, his fellow prisoner, he was condemned to death, and executed on 16th November, having fully confirmed his previous confession in every particular. Although many writers of great ability have professed a belief in Perkin Warbeck, and have questioned the genuineness of his confession, there can be very little doubt that he was an impostor, and that both princes died in the Tower by foul means. Richard Duke of York was married in 1478, when about five years old, to Anne Mowbray, daughter of John Mowbray, the last Duke of Norfolk of that name. In one of the Paston Letters, dated November 6, 1479, John Paston writes to Sir John Paston that he wants to get for his brother Edmund the wardship of one John Clippesby "dwyring the nonnage of my Lord and Lady of York" (vol. ii. p. 258). These titles, applied to mere children, seem very absurd.

4. GEORGE, DUKE OF CLARENCE (see III, Henry VI. note 13). Shakespeare has invested the character of this worthless scion of the House of York with an interest which, as far as history shows, he did not deserve. He had all the vices of his two brothers without their courage. The enmity between him and Richard dated from the time when the latter proposed, soon after the murder of her youthful husband, to marry the widow of Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales, and sister-in-law of Clarence. Richard's object was to obtain some portion of the great wealth which the king-maker left behind him, and which, as already stated, Clarence had coolly appropriated without a thought. The quarrel began as early as 1472. In one of the Paston Letters (vol. iii. p. 38)

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written on 14th February, 1472, there is the following reference to this dispute: -

"Yisterday the Kyng, the Qween, my Lorde of Clarence and Gloucester, wente to Schoen to pardon; men sey, nott alle in cheryte. . . ."

"The Kyng entretyth my Lorde off Clarence for my Lorde of Gloucester; and, as itt is seyde, he answerythe, that he may weel have my Ladye hys suster in lawe, butt they schall parte no lyvelod, as he seythe; so what wyl falle can I nott seye." There is also the following reference to this dispute given on p. 98 in the letter dated 6th November, 1473: "and it [is] seyde for serteyn, that, the Duke of Clarence makyth hym bygge in that he kan, schewyng as he wolde but dele with the Duke of Gloucester; but the Kyng ententyth, in eschewyng all inconvenyents, to be as bygge as they bothe, and to be a stykeler atweyn them; and som men thynke that undre thys ther sholde be som other thyng entendyd, and som treason conspyred; so what shall falle, can I nott seye." In December, 1476, Clarence's wife died. For some time before that event he had withdrawn from court, and held hardly any intercourse with his eldest brother. The quarrel was, as usual, about money matters. The death of Clarence's wife is said to have had a great effect upon his mind; but it does not seem to have diverted it from its main object, the greed of gain. Scarcely was his wife, who was said to have been poisoned by one of her servants, consigned to the tomb, than Clarence solicited the hand of Mary, the only daughter of Charles the Bold by his second wife, Mary Isabella of Bourbon. The opposition of Edward to this match made the breach between the brothers still wider. In the same year one of Clarence's servants was accused of practising magic; and, on the rack, he denounced one of his accomplices, Thomas Burdett, "a gentleman in the Duke's family" (Lingard, vol. iv. p. 208). They were charged with having "calculated the nativities of the king and the prince, and of having circulated certain rhymes and ballads of a seditious tendency" (*ut supra*, p. 200). They were both executed, protesting their innocence to the very last. Clarence warmly took up their cause, which apparently gave offence to Edward; and early in January in the next year, 1478, Clarence was impeached on the charge of high treason before the House of Lords. A very plausible indictment was framed against him, in which he was accused of aiming at the next succession to the crown by underhand means. It is very likely that Shakespeare, in representing Gloucester, for dramatic purposes, as instigating these accusations, was not far from the truth. Certain it is that some powerful influence over Edward must have incensed his mind against his brother, or he would not have consented to such an extreme measure as the impeachment and condemnation of Clarence. The reason which Shakespeare alleges, in this play, for the arrest of Clarence is one of the reasons given by Hall (p. 326): "The fame was that the king or the Queene, or bothe sore troubled with a folysh Propheseye, and by reason therof bega to stomacke and greuously to grudge agaynst the duke. The effect of which was, after king Edward should reigne, one whose first letter of hys name shoulde be a G;" a form of prophecy which was certainly fulfilled when Gloucester usurped the throne. Of course the

Yorkists threw all the blame of the quarrel between Edward and Clarence upon the unfortunate queen. All that Hall says with regard to Clarence's death is that the king "caused him to be apprehended, and cast into the Towre, where he beyng taken and adludged for a Traytor, was priuely drowned in a But of Maluesey" (p. 326). Lingard characterizes this as a silly report, and says that the manner of his death has never been ascertained (vol. iv. p. 211). The historian of Croyland, who is the best authority for this period, is silent on this point.

Clarence had by his wife, Isabella (see III. Henry VI. note 13), four children, two sons and two daughters. Two of these, a son and daughter, died in their infancy. The son of Clarence, mentioned in this play, is Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick. He was imprisoned by Henry VII. There is no doubt that the children of this prince, supposing the children of Edward IV.—as Richard sought to prove—were illegitimate, would have been the next heirs to the crown. But Richard maintained that the attainder of the Duke of Clarence debarred his children from the succession. This, it may be remarked, furnishes another reason for suspecting that Clarence's impeachment and death were really the indirect work of his villainous brother. Henry VII. undoubtedly felt that the young Earl of Warwick might, at any time, become a formidable rival; for his own claim to the crown really rested upon the fact that he had married the sole surviving child of Edward IV. When Richard's own son died, he recognized Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, as the heir-apparent; but afterwards, fearing that the people, in their anxiety to get rid of him, might put forward his own nephew as the real heir to the crown, he imprisoned him in the castle of Sheriff's Hutton, in Yorkshire. Thence the young prince was removed by Henry VII. in 1485 to the Tower, where he remained as a prisoner till his execution; except for a brief interval, when, a report having been spread that he was dead, one Lambert Simnel impersonated him. This was in 1486; and the Earl of Warwick was brought from the Tower to the palace at Sheen in order that he might be shown daily to all at court to prove the imposture of Simnel. This was a politic move on the part of Henry. But it appears that the Earl of Warwick was soon after sent again to the Tower. Here, in 1499, Perkin Warbeck, the pretended Duke of York, became his fellow-prisoner (see above, note 3). The two youths contracted a close friendship and adopted a common plan for their escape. Henry was probably not sorry for this opportunity of getting rid of a most dangerous claimant to the crown; and on the 24th November, 1499, the sole surviving son of Clarence was beheaded.

5. RICHARD, DUKE OF GLOSTER (see III. Henry VI. note 14). Richard is one of these characters in history who have been selected, from time to time, by enthusiastic writers as a subject for the process commonly known as "whitewashing." He shares this distinction with such injured saints as Lewis XI., the amiable father of Beatrice Cenci, the Borgias, &c., not to mention more modern instances. Certainly Richard is a very fine subject for this process; as, whatever posterity may think, his contemporaries seem to have been singularly agreed upon the fact that he was as unscrupulous and bloodthirsty an

individual as ever sat on a throne, either by usurpation or natural right. So far from having blackened his character, Shakespeare in this play, at any rate, has given, on the whole, as favourable a picture of him as any conscientious historian could have done. As to his personal appearance we have a contemporary account of that from the pen of John Rous, a priest in the household of the King Maker, who describes Richard as "of small stature, having a short face, shoulders of unequal height, the right being the higher" (French, p. 214). Hall's description of him, copied from Polydore Virgil, is as follows (p. 421): "As he was small and little of stature so was he of body greatly deformed, the one shoulder higher than the other, his face small but his countenance was cruel, and such, that a man at the first aspect would judge it to sauer and smel of mallice, fraude, and deceite: when he stode musing he would byde and chaw besely his nether lippe, as who sayd, that his fyerce nature in his cruell body alwaies clyf, sturred and was euer vnquiete: beside that, the dagger that he ware he would when he studied with his hand plucke vp and downe in the shethe to the midde, never drawing it fully out." I have read somewhere, I cannot put my hand on the reference, that he had beautiful hair which he wore long in order to cover the deformity of his shoulders. Perhaps we should have known more on this point, had the effigy which Henry VII. caused to be put on his tomb not been destroyed.

It must be confessed that, as far as Richard's intellectual qualities and his remarkable courage are concerned, Shakespeare has done him full justice. It is probable that Richard had formed, at a comparatively early age, the design of obtaining the crown. Nor was it unnatural that he should do so. He felt himself to be superior in capacity to both his brothers; and the essential illegality which accompanied all his father's solemn claims to the throne must have habituated his mind, from an early age, to pay very little regard to law or right where his ambition was concerned. Once having made up his mind to aim at the crown, he knew that he could only do so by throwing overboard all scruples. So, when he had gained his object, the only means of preserving what he had gained was by wholesale murder. Not content with cajoling into marriage the widow of the young prince whom he had brutally killed with his own hand, there is no doubt that, after her premature death, when he perceived that Elizabeth of York was looked upon by the people as the legitimate claimant to the crown, he was anxious to contract an incestuous union with his niece; and it was only the strong representations on the part of some of his confidants that such a marriage would incense the people against him, which induced him to abandon this infamous project. It is difficult to form any estimate of what Richard's capacity for government might have proved, had his tenure of the throne been more secure; for his reign, of such short duration, was one incessant struggle to maintain the position which he had usurped. He appears to have displayed a remarkable zeal for reforming public morals at the commencement of his reign. But it may be doubted whether this zeal had any deep foundation. The fact is, that during his brief reign he was always so intent on the commission of some villainy, or

on the execution of some grand *coup* of hypocrisy, that he never had the leisure for doing good, even had he possessed the inclination thereto. He sometimes seems to have taken Lewis XI. for his model, not only in his affectation of religion, but in his politic dealing with some of his opponents. For instance, his attempt to get the young Earl of Richmond into his power by bribing Landols, minister of the Duke of Brittany,—an attempt which very nearly succeeded,—was quite worthy of the wily Lewis. He seems to have done at least one good action during his reign, when he disafforested a large tract of country called Wichwood, between Woodstock and Bristol, which Edward IV. had inclosed as a deer forest. He also founded two colleges, one at Middleham in Yorkshire, and a “collegiate Chauntry,” near the Tower of London. By his unnatural marriage (in 1473) with Ann, second daughter of the great Earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI., he had only one son, who was born at Middleham Castle in 1474, and died 31st March, 1484, after he had been created Prince of Wales. French (p. 215) says that Richard had two or three illegitimate children, one of them being John of Gloucester, or as he was sometimes called John of Pomfret, of whom nothing is known except that he was knighted in 1483, and was appointed governor of Calais in March, 1485. A daughter, called Dame Catherine, was betrothed to William Herbert, second Earl of Pembroke; but she died before the marriage could take place. Another son, called Richard Plantagenet, is said to have fled after the Battle of Bosworth, and to have apprenticed himself to a mason. Various romantic stories are narrated about this prince (see *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vol. viii. pp. 103, 192, 251, vol. ix. p. 12).

Richard's body, after having been submitted to every possible indignity, was buried in the Grey Friars Church at Leicester. King Henry VII. caused a tomb to be erected over his remains. According to Baker (p. 235): “King Henry the Seventh caused a Tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a Picture of alabaster, representing his person; which at the suppression of that Monastery was utterly defaced. Since when, his Grave overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone Chest, wherein his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inn in Leicester, and retaineth the only memory of this Monarchs greatness.” Of the original tomb or drinking-trough mentioned by Baker no trace is to be found, and on the spot where his body is supposed to have been thrown into the water, a willow was planted, which was known by the name of “King Dick's Willow.” This trough is said to have remained till about the beginning of the eighteenth century; and Throsby in his *History of Leicester*, 1791, says that persons were shown some fragments of it about the year 1700. (See *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vol. xii. pp. 71, 72.)

Those who are inclined to take a favourable view of Richard's character will find all the facts and conjectures, which can be made to tell in his favour, most ably put forward in the *History of the Life and Reign of Richard III.* by George Buck (Kennet's *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 514–577, edn. 1706). But it must be confessed that his advocate is more successful in throwing doubts on his physical than on his moral deformities. The question

of Richard's guilt, with regard to the alleged murder of his nephews, will be found very fully discussed in note C. in the appendix to vol. iv. of Lingard's *History of England*.

6. HENRY EARL OF RICHMOND, AFTERWARDS KING HENRY VII. Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, was the son of Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, and Margaret, daughter of John, Earl of Somerset, descended from John of Gaunt by his marriage with Catharine Swynford (see I. Henry VI. note 4). Henry's claim, therefore, to the crown, such as it is, came through his mother, and not through his father. The latter, indeed, was the son of Catharine, widow of Henry V., who married Owen Tudor. The date of Richmond's birth is rather uncertain, but most probably he was born in July, 1456. The father died very soon after his birth. Other authorities say he was a posthumous child, and was not born till January, 1457. The place of his birth was Pembroke Castle. When fourteen days old, he took refuge with his uncle, Jasper Tudor, at the court of the Duke of Brittany, where he remained nearly fourteen years; during which time he narrowly escaped falling into the power, first of Edward IV., and then of Richard. It is evident, from the fact of his commencing negotiations, when in exile, for a marriage with the Princess Elizabeth, that Henry did not consider his title as the representative of the House of Lancaster to be a very strong one. The aversion, which he is alleged to have felt towards women, may have arisen partly from the fact that, on both sides, he derived his claim to the crown from the female line. However, he was careful to go through the ceremony of coronation on the 3rd October, 1485, previous to his marriage with Elizabeth, which took place in January, 1486. It will be seen that he was in his twenty-ninth year when he came to the throne. He died 21st April, 1509, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. With the events of that reign we are not concerned. The only fact which may be noticed is the curious change which apparently took place in his character after his accession to the throne. When the battle of Bosworth was fought he seems to have been the type of all that was chivalrous; while what we know of his life during his exile shows him to have been prudent and brave, ready to encounter danger whenever there was a chance of overcoming it, but not to imperil his own life or those of others in ambitious enterprises. There is no doubt that, for some years before he died, he developed a most avaricious temperament; and that all the popularity, which he fairly earned in the first years of his reign, was dissipated in the latter part of it by the horrible oppression to which he subjected his subjects for the sake of extorting money from them. Still it cannot be denied that, on the whole, he was a merciful ruler, even if his mercy was the result of policy; and it may be noted that the accusations, frequently brought against him, of treating his wife Elizabeth with indifference and neglect rest upon very slender foundation. He seems to have possessed the singular merit in a king of being faithful to the marriage bed. He had by his wife many children. Arthur, born September, 1486, died 2nd April, 1502; his death being one of the greatest calamities that ever befel this country. The second, Henry, afterwards Henry VIII., was born

1491. Another son, Edmund, died in infancy. Of the
married James IV. of Scotland,

James I. of Eng-

Mary Tudor, born

May, 1498, married Lewis XII., King of France; and,
secondly, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in the reign
of Henry VIII. The fourth daughter, Catharine, born
1502, died an infant.

7. CARDINAL BOURCHIER, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.
"Thomas Bourchier" was, according to French, "second
son of William Bourchier, Earl of Eu, by his wife Anne
Plantagenet, daughter and eventually sole heir of Thomas
of Woodstock, youngest son of Edward III. The Lady
Anne Plantagenet was the widow of Edmund Stafford,
fifth Earl of Stafford, K.G., who was slain at Shrewsbury.
Her mother, Eleanor de Bohun, is the 'Duchess of Glou-
cester' in King Richard II." (see note 25, Richard II.).
French adds "Thomas Bourchier was appointed to the
see of Worcester in 1434, translated to Ely in 1443, and
promoted to Canterbury in 1454. He was lord-chancellor
in 1445, and again in 1460; cardinal of St. Cyriacus in
1464. He died in 1486, very soon after he had united
Henry VII. to Elizabeth of York. He had crowned three
kings, namely, Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII.,
and the queens of the two first named kings." It is
remarkable that it was through the same Anne Plan-
tagenet, mother of the cardinal, that the Duke of Buck-
ingham in this play derived the claim that he had to the
crown, a claim second only to that of the Earl of Rich-
mond.

8. THOMAS ROTHERHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF YORK. Ac-
cording to Stowe (p. 482): "This Rotherham, otherwise
called Scot, a man of great wisdom was brought up
in Rotherham, afterward a fellow of kings college in
Cambridge, then Chaplain to king Edward the 4. and
keeper of the privy seal, first preferred by the K. to the
see of Rochester, then translated to Lincoln, where
he sat 9. yeeres, at length made L. chancellor of Eng-
land, which office he enjoyed till the kings death: before
the which time he was preferred to the see of Yorke,
he erected a collegd at Rotherham in Yorkeshire, dedi-
cated to the name of Jesu, for a provost to be a Preacher
in the Diocese of York, five priests, sixe choristes,
3. schoolmasters, one for song, 1. for grammar and one for
writing, he gave a rich Miter to the Church of Yorke (for
K. Edward the fourth had broken the old) he caused
manie great buildinges to be made in his manors, as
the great kitchin at White-hall by Westminster. At
Southwell the pantry and Bake-house, and new chambers
adjoyning to the river. At Bishops Thorpe, the pantry,
bakehouse, and chambers on the north side toward the
woods: he was archbishop 19. yeeres, 9 monethes, &c."
Alluding to his death, Stow says (anno 1600): "on the
morrow after the Ascension day deceased. Th. Rotherham
Archbishop of York, at his manor of Cawood, at the age
of lxxvi. yeeres or more, and was buried in the minster
of S. Peter at York in a tombe of marble."

9. JOHN MORTON, BISHOP OF ELY, was the eldest son
of Richard Morton, a gentleman of a good Dorsetshire
family, born 1410; he was appointed Bishop of Ely, 1478,
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translated to Canterbury, 1486, and in the following year
was made lord chancellor, in which capacity he delivered
the king's speech at the opening of parliament, 1488. He
was succeeded in the bishopric of Ely by John Alcock; was
made cardinal in 1493, and died 1500. Bacon in his His-
tory says: "He was a wise Man, and an eloquent, but in
his nature harsh, and haughty; much accepted by the
King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the People.
Neither was his Name left out of Perkin's Proclamation
for any good will, but they would not bring him in
amongst the King's Casting-Counters, because he had the
Image and Superscription upon him of the Pope, in his
Honour of Cardinal. He won the King with Secrecy and
Diligence, but chiefly because he was his old servant in
his less Fortunes: And also for that (in his affection) he
was not without an inveterate Malice against the House
of York, under whom he had been in Trouble. He was
willing also to take Envy from the King, more than the
King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared
not for Subterfuges, but would stand Envy, and appear
in any thing that was to his Mind; which made Envy still
grow upon him more universal, but less daring. But in the
Matter of Exactions, time did after shew, that the Bishop
in feeding the King's Humour, did rather temper it. He
had been by Richard the Third committed (as in Custody)
to the Duke of Buckingham, whom he did secretly incite
to revolt from King Richard. But after the Duke was
engaged, and thought the Bishop should have been his
chief Pilot in the Tempest, the Bishop was gotten into the
Cock-boat, and fled over beyond Seas. But whatsoever
else was in the Man, he deserveth a most happy memory,
in that he was the principal Mean of joyning the two
Roses" (see Kennet's History of England, vol. i. p. 626).
He was ninety-one years old when he died, and was suc-
ceeded by Henry Dean, Bishop of Salisbury. His beauti-
ful palace which he possessed in London, Ely House,
stood where now Ely Place is. The gardens were cele-
brated for their excellent strawberries, a fact alluded to
in this play (iii. 4. 83-86):

Glo. When I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
I do beseech you send for some of them.

Among many other buildings which this prelate erected
was the grand central tower of the cathedral of Canter-
bury, where the device of his name, the letters M O R and
a tun, may be seen carved. He is said by some to have
been the author of the History of Richard III., written
in Latin, and translated by Sir Thomas More.

10. HENRY STAFFORD, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, succeeded
his grandfather, Humphrey Stafford, who was killed at
the battle of Northampton (see II. Henry VI. note 8). His
father, Humphrey Stafford, was killed at the battle of
St. Albans, 1455. As has already been mentioned, the
Duke of Buckingham was next in succession to the crown
to Henry Earl of Richmond, and derived his claim, like
Richmond, from the female line. His great grandmother
was the mother of Duke Humphrey, having been the
daughter of Edward the Third's youngest son (ut supra,
same note). There is no doubt that it was chiefly through
Buckingham's influence that Richard was able to usurp
the throne; and, in return for his services, he was created

Constable of England and Chamberlain of North and South Wales. Buckingham was actuated by enmity against the queen's family; and it would appear that Richard, with his usual craft, induced Buckingham to become an accomplice in his designs against the young princes by pointing out to him that, when Edward V. obtained the kingly power, he would be sure to revenge the injuries that had been done to members of his mother's family by Buckingham. Shakespeare has followed history in making Richard employ Buckingham as his advocate before the citizens of London. It would seem that the ill-feeling between Buckingham and Richard first arose from the refusal of the king to grant the complete restoration of the Earl of Hereford's possessions, which Buckingham had claimed as the lawful descendant of Humphrey de Bohun. This claim was resented by Richard, mainly because it served to remind him that the claimant represented the House of Lancaster; the estates being the same that Bolingbroke, afterward Henry IV., had inherited by marriage (see Richard II. note 4). According to some of the chroniclers Buckingham refused to appear at the coronation of Richard on account of illness. Hall says (p. 482) that the king "sent him word to ryse and ryde or he would make hym to be caried. Whereupon gorgeously apparilled, and sumptuously trapped with burnynge cartenaues of golde embrodered, he rode before the kyng through Londō with an euill will and woorse harte. And that notwithstandinge, he roose the daye of the coronacion from the feast, feignyng him selfe sicke, which kyng Richard sayd was done in hate and spighte of him." After this Buckingham seems really to have believed that his life was not safe owing to the king's ill feeling. While he was in this frame of mind he retired to his castle at Brecknock, where Bishop Morton, who was under his charge in a kind of honourable captivity (see above, note 9), is said to have persuaded him to undertake the restoration of the young prince to the throne. But this scheme was abruptly put an end to by the news of the violent death of the two princes; and the object of the conspiracy was then changed, on the proposal of the Bishop of Ely, so as to substitute the Earl of Richmond as claimant to the throne. The Duke of Buckingham raised his standard at Brecknock. Richard was at that time in Lincolnshire; but five days later he had joined his army at Leicester, where he issued a singularly high moral proclamation, in which he charged his enemies, not only with having for their object the destruction of the throne, but also with "the letting of virtue, and the damnable maintenance of vice" (see Rymer XII. 204, quoted by Lingard, vol. iv. p. 246). Buckingham, at the head of his Welshmen, intended to cross the Severn, and join with the Courtenays and others who had raised an army in Devonshire and Cornwall. Had this junction been effected it is very probable that Richard would have been defeated; but a heavy flood prevented Buckingham crossing the Severn, and having no money nor provisions for his army, they deserted him, and without striking a single blow Richard saw the conspiracy, for the time at least, broken up. Morton fled disguised to Flanders. Buckingham sought refuge with Banister, an old servant, in Shropshire. Here, disguised as a common labourer, he was betrayed by his ungrateful host, and arrested by the

sheriff while digging a ditch. He was conveyed to Salisbury, where Richard was, and promptly beheaded without any trial. The old chroniclers relate that Banister and all his family came to a miserable end. Some say that the traitor did not even get the reward which Richard had promised him. On the other hand there is evidence that one of the duke's manors was granted to the servant who betrayed his master. Buckingham married Catharine Woodville, sister of Queen Elizabeth, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Edward Stafford, is the Duke of Buckingham in Henry VIII. His second son, Henry, was created Earl of Wiltshire by Henry VIII., 1509, and died without issue, 1523. Of the two daughters, Elizabeth married Richard Ratcliff, Lord Fitzwater; and Anne married, first, Sir Walter Herbert, secondly, George Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon. An arrangement is said to have been made between Buckingham and Richard, before the death of Richard's son, that that young prince should marry one of Buckingham's daughters.

11. DUKE OF NORFOLK. This was Sir John Howard, only son of Sir Robert Howard and Margaret, eldest daughter of Thomas de Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk (see Richard II. note 6). Sir John Howard was the first member of his family who was ennobled with the dukedom of Norfolk, the premier dukedom which has been held by the Howard family ever since. Sir John Howard early distinguished himself as a soldier in the wars with France, and accompanied Talbot in that fatal attempt to raise the siege of Châtillon in which that great general met his death (see I. Henry VI. note 11). Sir John was a great favourite with Edward VI., who appointed him to several important and valuable offices. He was sent on several embassies to France to Lewis XI., the result of which was that he amassed a large fortune. De Commynes says that Lord Howard, as he was then called—he was created Baron Howard in 1470—received of Lewis XI. "in less than two years space, in money and plate, 24,000 crowns." He also received the grant of many forfeited manors; and in 1470 he was made captain-general of the king's forces at sea. In 1470 he was appointed deputy-governor of Calais and the adjacent marches. In spite of the debt of gratitude that he owed to Edward IV. he was faithless to his benefactor's son, and followed the fortunes of the usurper; thinking, probably, that more perquisites were to be obtained from the latter sovereign. The young prince, Richard Duke of York had been, as already stated (see above, note 3), solemnly betrothed to Lady Anne Mowbray, the only surviving child of John Mowbray, fourth Duke of Norfolk (see III. Henry VI., note 15), and on him had been conferred all the dignities and titles of the Duke of Norfolk. Yet, while that young prince was supposed still to be alive, Richard created his devoted and high-principled adherent, Lord Howard, Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal. The date of this creation by Richard is worth noticing, as it implies a knowledge on his part of the death of the young prince who had already been created Duke of Norfolk. Two days after obtaining the dukedom, Howard was appointed High Steward of England. He attended Richard's coronation, following his son, Thomas, Earl of Surrey, who bore the

sword of state, the duke himself carrying the king's crown and walking next before him (see Hall, p. 376) In the same year the duke was made Lord Admiral of England, Ireland, and Aquitaine for life. He was killed at the battle of Bosworth, fighting by the side of Richard; whose cause, he it noted to his credit, he refused to desert, even in face of the well-known warning couplet affixed to his tent the night before the battle, v. 3. 304, 305:

Jockey of Norfolk, be not too bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold.

The Duke of Norfolk was twice married, first to Catharine, daughter of William Lord Moleyns, by whom he had issue one son, the above-mentioned Earl of Surrey, who succeeded to his dukedom, and four daughters; secondly, he married Margaret, daughter of Sir John Chedworth, by whom he had one daughter, Catharine, married to John Bourchier, Lord Berners, who translated Froissart.

12. EARL OF SURREY. This is the Earl of Surrey mentioned in the above note. He held an important command at Bosworth, where he was taken prisoner. After a plucky attempt to avenge his father's death he gave up his sword to Sir Gilbert Talbot who led the right wing of Richard's army. Surrey led Richard's archers. He was committed to the Tower by Henry VII., where he remained about three and a half years. With that eye for the main chance which distinguished his family, he was perfectly ready to do the new king homage, and as a reward was soon restored to his title of Earl of Surrey and all the lands which his first wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Frederick Tilney of Ashwell Thorpe in Norfolk had possessed. Surrey is chiefly remarkable for having commanded at the battle of Flodden, after which he was restored to his father's rank, February 1, 1514. He appears among the dramatis personæ of Henry VIII., where the rest of his memoir will be more properly given.

13. ANTONY WOODVILLE, *Earl Rivers*.—This was Antony Woodville, the Lord Scales and Lord Rivers of III. Henry VI. (see note 22 of that play). It only remains to mention that he was one of the most learned men of his time, and that it was under his auspices that the first book printed in England was produced by Caxton. He was also the translator of the second book produced in England by Caxton, namely, "The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers, translated out of French by Antone Erle Ryuyers." Folio, 1477.

14. MARQUESS OF DORSET. This is Thomas Grey, eldest son of Queen Elizabeth, by her first marriage with Sir John Grey. He was created Marquess of Dorset by Edward IV. 1475. This nobleman's life seems to have been full of vicissitudes and lucky escapes, though much mention of him is not made in history. When Richard made his attack upon the relations of Queen Elizabeth, 1483, it appears that the Marquess of Dorset must have been in charge of the Tower of London; and that he managed to escape into sanctuary, when his brother, Lord Richard Grey, and his uncle, Earl Rivers, were executed. He did not venture out of sanctuary till the time when the Duke of Buckingham's conspiracy against the king commenced, when he appears to have gathered together a large force of men in Yorkshire. After the ill success of Bucking-

ham's attempt he with others escaped into Brittany, where he remained in exile. He was indicted by Richard for high treason in the commission held by John Lord Scrope, 1483-1484. Richard having succeeded in cajoling Queen Elizabeth into surrendering the custody of her daughters, he also persuaded her to write to her son the Marquess of Dorset entreating him to come over to England, where he would receive great honours. For some little time he seems to have paid no attention to this offer; but in the next year, 1485, despairing of the success of Richmond's cause, he appears to have gone towards Flanders; but he could not have gone to England, because we find that he was one of those left in Paris as a hostage for some money, borrowed by Henry for the purposes of the expedition which ended in the victory of Bosworth. In 1486-1487 he appears to have been accused of participation in the rebellion of the Earl of Lincoln; he was arrested by order of Henry, and sent to the Tower, whence, however, shortly after, he was delivered and restored to full favour. French says that he died in 1501. I can find no mention of his death, but in that year we find that Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, was the "chief defender" at the justs, according to Holinshed (vol. iii. p. 527), held at the Palace of Westminster, on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Arthur with Catharine of Arragon. Dorset was married to Cicely, daughter and heir of William Bonville, Lord Harrington. This marriage is alluded to by Clarence, who in III. Henry VI. iv. 1. 56-58, says to the king:

Or else you would not have bestow'd the heir
Of the Lord Bonville on your new wife's son,
And leave your brother to go speed elsewhere.

From the Marquess of Dorset was descended Lady Jane Grey, who, for a few days, was Queen of England.

15. LORD GREY. Strictly speaking, he was only Sir Richard Grey. He was the youngest son of Sir John Grey. When the young king Edward V. was being brought from Northampton to London, he was accompanied, among others, by his uncles, Lord Rivers and Sir Richard Grey. On reaching Stony Stratford they were met by Gloucester and Buckingham, who instantly began to pick a quarrel with both the king's uncles, accusing them of trying to alienate the king's affection from the Protector and his friends. Lord Richard Grey and Sir Thomas Vaughan were both arrested in the king's presence and brought back to Northampton, whence, much to the young king's grief they were sent back into the north, and subsequently to Pomfret Castle, where they were beheaded, June 13, 1483; the sentence being carried out, with every aggravation that insolence could suggest, by the Protector's jackal, Ratcliff.

16. EARL OF OXFORD. See III. Henry VI. note 6. In one of the Paston Letters, dated August 25th, 1478, No. 821, we find the following passage:

"Item, as for the pagent that men say that the Erle of Oxenforde hathe pleyid atte Hammys, I suppose ye have herd theroff; itt is so longe ago, I was nott in thys contre when the tydyngs come, therfor I sent yow no worde theroff."

"Butt for conclusion, as I her says, he lyepe the wallys, and wente to the dyke, and in to the dyke to the"

chynne; to whatt entent I can nott telle; some sey, to stele away, and some thynke he wolde have drownyd hymselfe, and so it is demyd" (vol. iii. pp. 235, 236).

From this it would appear that Oxford made more than one attempt to escape from his imprisonment, which he ultimately succeeded in doing in 1485. Hall says (p. 406): "Jhon Vere erle of Oxford (which as you haue heard before was by king Edward kepte in prison within the castell of hannes) so perswaded James blount capitayne of thesame fortresse, and sir Jhon Fortescewe porter of the tounne of Caleys, that he him selfe was not onely dismissed and set at liberte, but they also abandonyng and leauynge their fruitfull offices, condiscended to go with him into Fraunce to the Earle of Rychemonde and to take his parte." When Richard heard that Blount had surrendered the Castle of Hammes (or Hames) he sent a force from Calais to recover it; and Richmond sent Oxford, who had joined him in Paris, to raise the siege. He succeeded in rescuing the besieged, who were allowed to depart with all the honours of war. He then returned to Paris. He accompanied Richmond to Lancaster, where he commanded the vanguard of the Lancastrian army, being opposed to the Duke of Norfolk. He afterwards defeated the rebels under Lambert Simnel, at Stoke, in 1487. Henry VII. created him Constable of the Tower. He married Margaret Neville, sixth daughter of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, by whom he had a son who died young. He himself died in 1513; and was succeeded by his nephew, John de Vere, as fourteenth earl. Sir Walter Scott has introduced the Earl of Oxford, in *Anne of Geierstein*, under the assumed name of Phillipson.

17. LORD HASTINGS. See III. Henry VI. note 19. Stow gives some very interesting particulars (p. 448) of the plot by which Hastings' death was brought about. Richard sent Catesby to sound Hastings, and it is said that the latter expressed his firm resolution to remain faithful to the young princes. Catesby finding that his master Richard was likely to have a firm opponent in Hastings, incensed the Protector's mind against him. The scene which took place at the council on Friday, June 13th, 1483, is very closely followed by Shakespeare in act iii. scene 4 of the play. Hastings is one of the principal characters in Rowe's *Jane Shore*. According to Sir Thomas More, Hastings had been in love with her during the time she had been King Edward's mistress, but "forbore her of reverence towards his king" (Singer's Reprint, p. 72). After the king's death she lived with Hastings as his mistress. Lord Hastings rebuilt the Castle of Ashby de la Zouch, the remains of which still remain. Sir Walter Scott mentions this fact at the beginning of chapter xiv. in *Ivanhoe*, and adds that he, Lord Hastings, was "yet better known as one of Shakespeare's characters, than by his historical fame" (p. 149, edn. 1886).

18. LORD STANLEY. See II. Henry VI. note 15; III. Henry VI. note 23. This character was Thomas Stanley, second Baron Stanley, and succeeded his father in 1468. Lord Stanley was Steward of the Household to Edward IV. He was one of those who were very much opposed to the queen's family. He is said to have been one of the first to suspect the designs of Richard, and on the night before the celebrated meeting of the council men-

in the last note, Lord Stanley, according to Sir Thomas More, had "so fereful a dreame, in which him thoughte that a bore with his tuskes so raced them both bi the heddes, that the blood ranne aboute both their shoulders" (p. 74). This dream so impressed him that he sent at once at midnight to Hastings to make his escape with him; as he interpreted the dream to mean that they both were in danger from Richard, whose crest was a wild boar. Stanley suffered himself to be persuaded against his own presentiment, and was present at the council, at which, next day, in the confusion which arose after the Protector's denunciation of Hastings as a traitor, Stanley was arrested at the same time as Hastings: when, according to Sir Thomas More (p. 73), "a nother let flee at the Lorde Stanley which shronke at the stroke and fel under the table, or els his hed had been clefted to the tethe: for as shortly as he shrank, yet ranne the blood aboute his eares;" but he did not share his friend's fate; and although he had married for his second wife Margaret Beaufort, the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. (see I. Henry VI. note 6), Richard appointed him, after his coronation, steward of his household, and afterwards Constable of England in 1483. Whether he did this from policy, or because he really believed Stanley was well affected towards him, we cannot tell. The fact is Richard never seems to have made up his mind whether he could trust Stanley or not. The latter, who had large estates in Cheshire and Lancashire, asked permission to visit them. Richard consented on the condition of his leaving his son George, Lord Strange, as a hostage. It would seem that, on reaching his country place, Stanley must have made up his mind to join Richmond's party. When summoned by Richard to join him with his forces, he excused himself upon the ground of illness. This enraged the king, and George Stanley, being in fear of his life, attempted to escape; but he was captured, and confessed that he and his uncle, Sir William Stanley (see III. Henry VI. note 23), and others were pledged to Richmond, though his father was ignorant of that fact, and was loyal to Richard. After this he was allowed to write to his father, to tell him that, if he wished to save his son's life, he was to come at once. Two days before the battle of Bosworth it was arranged between Richmond and the Stanleys that they should keep up an appearance of hostility towards Richmond. But on the day of the battle, Richard, to his amazement, saw all the forces of the Stanleys marshalled against him. He ordered George Stanley to be executed at once. In the confusion of the battle the son managed to escape and join his father. It was Lord Stanley who placed the battered crown of Richard, found in a hawthorn bush after the battle, on Richmond's head: and for this reason the crown in a hawthorn bush was adopted as a cognisance by the latter when he became king. Lord Stanley married first, Helena Neville, sister of the King-maker, by whom he had three sons, the eldest of whom was George Stanley already mentioned; the second, Sir Edward Stanley, distinguished at Flodden, and created Lord Montague, 1514, by Henry VIII.; the third, James Stanley, became Bishop of Ely, 1506. By his second wife he had no issue.

19. LORD LOVELL. This was Francis, Lord Lovel and

Holland, son of John, tenth Lord Lovel in succession from, John, son of William Lovel, one of the barons at the coronation of King John—of Tichmerch, or Tichmarch in the county of Northampton, and Minister Lovel in the county of Oxford, &c. Lovel figures in the well-known lampoon, written by William Collingbourne, which was posted on the church door at Collingbourne-Ducis in Wiltshire, for publishing which he was executed:

The Cat, the Rat, and Lovel our Dog,
Doe rule all England, under the Hog.
The crooke backt boare the way hath found
To root our roses from our ground;
Both flower and bud will he confound;
Till king of beasts the same be crown'd:
And then the dog, the cat, and rat,
Shall in his trough feed and be fat.

The name Louvel or Lovel (a corruption of the surname Lupellus, a little wolf), was first assumed, in the early part of the twelfth century, by William Gouel de Perceval, second son of Ascelin (called Lupus); and the title, Lord Lovel, was first assumed by his grandson John, in the reign of Henry III. When twenty-seven years of age Lovel accompanied Richard, then Duke of Gloucester, on his expedition into Scotland. On 4th January, 1483, he was created Viscount Lovel, and was appointed by Richard Lord Chamberlain of the household, Chief Butler of England, &c. He was present at the battle of Bosworth, and took refuge, first at the sanctuary of St. John's in Colchester; then he went to Sir Thomas Broughton's in Lancashire, where he lay concealed for some months, and escaped thence into Flanders to Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. He was sent by her, with two thousand soldiers under Martin Schwartz, to support Lambert Simnel, the impostor. He joined the Earl of Lincoln, and was present at the battle of Stoke. The fate of this nobleman was involved in some mystery. Some say that he either perished in the battle of Stoke, or soon after the battle; but there is a tradition that he succeeded in making his escape to his own home, where he took refuge in a secret vault. In 1708 a skeleton presumed to be his was found there, with remnants of jars, &c.; the assumption being that he was starved to death.

"With regard to Minister-Lovel, I had forgot to mention, that in the History of the House of Yvery, a most curious book, it is said, that there had been a tradition that the last Lord Lovel escaped from the battle of Stoke, but was never heard of afterwards; and that some years ago upon taking down the old manor-house, there was discovered a secret vault, wherein there appeared a figure richly clothed, sitting in a chair, which, upon being exposed to the air, turned to dust, and was supposed to have been that unfortunate nobleman, who hiding himself here in his own house, was starved to death, either by the peridy or inability of the person, in whose assistance he confided" (Topographical Miscellanies (quarto), by Sir Egerton Brydges, vol. i. under OXFORDSHIRE). With him the title became extinct till it was revived in the person of John Earl of Eglmont, 1762. He was married to Anne, daughter of Henry Lord FitzHugh, and left no issue. All his honours, together with his vast estates, were forfeited to the crown after the battle of Stoke.

20. SIR THOMAS VAUGHAN was the son of Sir Roger

Vaughan of Tree Tower, Brecknockshire. Sir Thomas Vaughan was proclaimed a traitor with the Duke of York and others by Henry VI., March, 1460. During the brief period when that unfortunate monarch was restored to the throne by Warwick, 1470, Edward IV. sent him to invest Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with the Order of the Garter. He was a constant and faithful attendant on Edward V. almost from his infancy, and the young prince, who was very much attached to him, is said to have wept bitterly when Gloucester arrested Vaughan. Together with Lord Richard Grey and Earl Rivers, Vaughan was executed at Pomfret Castle. (See note 15 above.) Sir Thomas Vaughan was married to Cicely, daughter of Morgan ap Philip. One of his daughters married Richard Harley, ancestor of the celebrated Sir Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford; and another, Elizabeth, married as her second husband Sir Edward Stanley, Lord Mordaunt. (See above, note 18.) According to Kennet (vol. i. p. 497), when Vaughan was going to the block, he would not let his mouth be stopped by Ratcliff, but declared that the prophecy, on account of which George Duke of Clarence had suffered, would be fulfilled in the person of Richard G., that is the Protector, and loudly declared his innocence. He was buried, with his fellow sufferers, in the monastery of St. John at Pomfret.

21. SIR RICHARD RATCLIFF belonged to a branch of the same family to which Sir Robert Ratcliff belonged, who was created Earl of Essex in 1529, his father, John Lord Fitzwalter, having been executed for joining Perkin Warbeck. Sir Thomas More describes him as "a man that had been long secret with him (i.e. the Protector), having experience of the world and a shrewd wit, short and rude in speche, rough and boustiouse of behaviour, bold in mischief, as far from pitie as from al fere of god" (p. 87). To Ratcliff was committed the charge of carrying out the execution of Rivers and the others at Pomfret. (See above, note 15.) He shared his royal master's fate in his last desperate charge at Bosworth. Shakespeare has made a mistake in making Ratcliff present at the celebrated council at which Hastings was arrested, as at that time he was carrying out the execution at Pomfret. In fact, it seems that to Ratcliff was intrusted the charge of all Richard's interests in the north of England. In 'the Paston Letters is one from Richard Duke of Gloucester to Lord Neville, dated June 11th, 1483 (No. 874), in which he requests that he "wyllyefcredence to . . . Richearde Ratcliff, thys beerrr, whom I nowe do sende to you, entrusted with all my mynde and entent" (vol. iii. p. 306). This Lord Neville was probably the heir to the earldom of Westmoreland.

22. SIR WILLIAM CATESBY was the son of Sir William Catesby of Ashby St. Ledger, in the county of Northampton, who was three times sheriff in the twenty-first, thirtieth, and thirty-fourth years of the reign of Henry VI., and twice returned in the twenty-seventh and thirty-first years of that reign as knight of the shire. French says (p. 235): "he died in 1470, leaving by his wife Philippa, daughter and co-heir of Sir William Bishopton, Knight, of Bishopton, co. Warwick, a son and heir, who is the character in this play." Catesby himself was sheriff of Northamptonshire in the eighteenth year of Edward IV.

Richard III. appointed him chancellor of the exchequer for life, and also attorney-general, or as some say speaker of the House of Commons, in 1483. He married Margaret, daughter of Lord Zouch, by whom he had a son, George, who marrying a daughter of Sir Richard Empson, the well-known minister of Henry VII., obtained through her interest the restoration of his father's forfeited estates. George Catesby's widow married, secondly, Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, and was grandmother of the Lucy satirized by Shakespeare; so that Catesby was in two ways connected with Shakespeare's history, as the mother of the William Catesby of this play came from Bishopton, one and a half miles from Stratford-on-Avon, half the tithes of which place Shakespeare purchased in 1605. Five generations after the subject of this memoir, his descendant, Robert Catesby, was the chief conspirator next to Guido Fawkes in the Gunpowder Plot. Fuller, who gives this Sir William Catesby, amongst his worthies of Northamptonshire, says that the date of his death is uncertain (vol. ii. p. 510). On his monument in the church of Ashby St. Ledger the date of his death is given two days before the battle of Bosworth. There is little doubt that he was taken prisoner at that battle, and was one of the three who suffered death, three days after the battle, at Leicester. Catesby, as is well known, was the cat of Collingbourne's lampoon (quoted above, note 19).

23. SIR JAMES TYRREL was the son of Sir William Tyrrel of Gipping in the county of Suffolk. The part that Tyrrel took in the cruel murder of the young princes was established by his own confession when arrested for supporting Perkin Warbeck. According to Sir Thomas More "bothe Dighton and he were examined, and confessed the murder in maner above written," i.e. by smothering them in their beds (p. 132). Tyrrel was beheaded, May 6th, 1502, and buried in the church of Austin Friars. His family claimed descent from Walter Tyrrel, whose fortunate arrow got rid of William Rufus in the New Forest.

24. SIR JAMES BLUNT was the son of Sir Walter Blunt, great grandson of the Sir Walter Blunt, one of the characters in II. Henry IV. Sir James Blunt was governor of Hammes Castle, where Oxford was confined (see above, note 16). He appears to have been made "a Knight Banneret by Henry VIII. after the battle of Newark, 1510" (French, p. 227).

25. SIR WALTER HERBERT was the second son of William Herbert, a staunch Yorkist, created by Edward IV. in 1461 Baron Herbert, and in 1468 Earl of Pembroke (see III. Henry VI. note 18). It is said that the young Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII., was engaged to be married to Herbert's sister, Lady Maud, having become attached to her while living in her father's castle. She, however, became the wife of Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland. When Richmond believed that Richard III. was going to marry the Princess Elizabeth, he transferred his affections temporarily to Lady Katherine Herbert, another sister. Sir Walter married Anne Stafford, second daughter of the Duke of Buckingham, but had no issue.

26. SIR ROBERT BRAKENBURY was the second son of Thomas Brakenbury of Denton in the county of Durham.

He was appointed governor of the Tower of London; and it is said that Richard sent to him his faithful servant, John Green, to try and induce him to murder the young princes; but Brakenbury refused to have anything to do with the crime. It is pretty certain, however, that though he did not himself take part in it, he must have admitted the murderers into the Tower. Tyrrel is said to have given the keys back to Brakenbury on the morning after the murder, and the probability of the latter having some guilty knowledge of the crime is increased by the fact that he received many valuable manors from Richard after the crime had been committed (see Strype's note to Buck's History; Kennet, vol. i. pp. 561, 562).

27. CHRISTOPHER URSWICK was chaplain to the Countess of Richmond, afterwards Dean of Windsor, 1495, and Rector of Hackney, 1502; upon receiving which appointment he retired to his residence at Hackney, having resigned his other preferments, and spent the rest of his days in retirement. He died October 21st, 1521. He refused the bishopric of Norwich. He was employed by the Countess of Richmond in negotiating the marriage between Henry and Elizabeth. Hall says (p. 392): "In the meane ceason the countesse of Richemond toke into her sercice Christopher Ursuicke an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of hym for to be secret taken and aworne she vttered to him all her mynde and counsell, . . . So the mother studious for y^e prosperite of her sonne appointed this Christopher Ursuicke to saile into Britayne to the erle of Richemond and to declare and to demonster to him all pactes and agrementes betwene her and the queene agreed and concluded."

28. LORD MAYOR OF LONDON. This was Sir Edmund Shaw, called by Fabian, "Edmonde Shaa, goldsmith." He was sheriff in the fourteenth year of Edward IV., 1475, and lord-mayor in the twenty-second year, 1483. His brother, Doctor Shaw, was the preacher who was induced to brand the children of Edward IV. as bastards. The celebrated sermon was preached at St. Paul's, June 22nd, 1483, on the text: "Bastard plants shall take no deep root, nor lay any fast foundation" (Wisdom of Solomon, iv. 3). These brothers were the sons of John Shaw of Dronkenfield in the county of Chester.

29. SHERIFF OF WILTSHIRE. This was Henry Long of Wraaxall in the county of Wilts. He was sheriff of Wilts in 1457, 1476, 1483; he died, 1490, leaving no issue.

30. PAGE. French (p. 242) thinks that this page was John Green mentioned above, who was employed by Richard to tamper with Brakenbury. More says (p. 127): "Whereuppon he sent one John Grene, whom he specially trusted, unto sir Robert Brakenbury constable of the tower, with a letter and credence also, that the same sir Roberte should in any wyse put the two childre to death. This John Grene did his errand unto Brakenbury, kneeling before our lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he would neuer putte them to deathe to dye therfore. With which answer John Grene returning, recounted the same to kynge Richard at Warwick yet in his way, wherwith he toke such displeasure and thought, &c." But it is much more probable that the page was the person alluded to in the following passage in More (p. 123),

which, after mentioning Green's return to Richard at Warwick from Brakenbury with the refusal of the latter to murder the princes, goes on to say: "that the same night he said unto a secreete page of his: Ah, whome shall a man trust: those that I haue broughte vp my selfe, those that I had went would most surely serue me, euen those fayle me, and at my commaundement will do nothing for me. Sir quod his page, there lyeth one on your paylet with out that I dare well say, to do your grace pleasure the thyng were right harde that he wold refuse, meaning this by sir James Tyrel, which was a man of ryght goodly parsonage, and for natures gyftes woorthy to haue serued a muche better prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obtayned to haue as muche trouthe and good wil, as he had strength and witte. The man had an high harte and sore longed vpwarde, not rising yet so fast as he had hoped, being hindered and kept vnder by the meanes of sir Richard Ratcliffe and sir William Catesby, which longing for no moo parteners of the Princes fauour, and namely not for him, whose pride thei wist woulde beare no pere, kept him by secreete driftes out of al secreete trust: whiche thyng this page wel had marked and known: wherefore this occasion offered, of very speciaall frendship he toke his tyme to put him forward, and by such wyse do him good, that al the enemies he had (except the deuil) could neuer haue done him so muche hurte. For vpon this pages wordes, king Richard arose (for this communicacoun had he sitting at the draught, a conuenient carpet for suche a counsaill) and came out into the pallet chamber, on which he found in bed sir James and sir Thomas Tyrels, of person like and brethren of blood, but nothing of kin in condicions."

31. TRESSELL AND BERKELEY, two gentlemen attending on Lady Anne. The former of these was probably, as French suggests (p. 251), one of the Trussell family, an old Staffordshire and Northamptonshire family. One, Sir William Trussell, was sheriff of the county of Warwick in the sixteenth year of Edward IV. He, or his brother Edmund Trussell, may be the person intended in this play. The latter was probably one of the sons of James, sixth Lord Berkeley, who were all Lancastrians.

32. ELIZABETH, QUEEN TO KING EDWARD IV.—See III. Henry VI. note 31. Miss Strickland says of her, "there never was a woman who contrived to make more personal enemies." So opposed was the Duchess of York, mother of Edward IV., to the marriage of her son, that, driven to desperation, she brought forward the plea of a precontract with the Lady Elizabeth Lucy (see below, note 408). A long account will be found in Hall and Holinshed's Chronicles, mostly taken from Sir Thomas More, of the arguments by which this unhappy lady was induced to give up the custody first of her sons and then of her daughter to their villainous uncle. It is difficult to understand how Queen Elizabeth could have been induced to give up the charge of her eldest daughter and allow her to appear at the court of her brother's murderer. But great allowance must be made for her on the ground of the marvellous talent for hypocrisy and singular powers of persuasion which Richard possessed, and also for the

pressure which was put upon her. After the act of parliament passed by Richard, which bastarized his brother's children, the queen was known as "Dame Elizabeth Grey late calling herself Queen of England." She retired to the monastery at Bermondsey, which seems to have been a favourite refuge for royal personages, and died there June 8th, 1492. She was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where, as French says (p. 244), "on a flat stone, at the foot of her royal husband's tomb, is inscribed:

Edward and his Quee

33. MARGARET OF ANJOU. See I. Henry VI. note 27. She died, according to French, August 25th, 1481, "in the château of Dampierre, near Saumur, belonging to an old officer of King René's household, François Vignolle, lord of Moreans" (p. 246).

34. DUCHESS OF YORK. This was Cicely Neville, eighteenth daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland. (See II. Henry VI. note 4.) She was known as "The Rose of Raby." French says (pp. 24f, 246): "She had a throne-room in her baronial residence, Fotheringay Castle, where she held receptions with the state of a queen, a title which she had at one time a reasonable hope to enjoy, as the consort of her princely husband, who had been declared heir to Henry VI. This great lady survived all her sons, and also outlived all her daughters excepting Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy; and though she had not, at the time of her son Richard's usurpation, in 1483, arrived at the age she ascribes to herself in the play,—

Eighty odd years of sorrow have I seen,

the Duchess of York must have reached an advanced period when, twelve years later, she died at Berkhamstead in 1495; her will, made on the first of April in that year, was proved August 27, following. She was buried at Fotheringay beside her husband and their son Edmund." There is not the slightest ground for the infamous charge which Richard brought against his mother's reputation, when he declared that he only of all the sons of the Duke of York was legitimate. Richard directs Buckingham to touch the scandal lightly:

Yet touch this sparingly, as 't were far off;
Because, my lord, you know my mother lives.

—iii. 5. 93, 94

35. LADY ANNE is the name given by Shakespeare to the unhappy widow of Edward Prince of Wales (see III. Henry VI. note 2), who afterwards became the wife of Richard. Anne Neville was the youngest daughter and co-heir of the King Maker, and was born at Warwick Castle, June 11th, 1452. French says (p. 246): "She was in her seventeenth year when she visited the court of Louis XI. in company with her father, mother, and Clarence, then married to her sister Isabel; and whilst at the court which was held at Angers, the treaty of marriage was contracted between herself and the Prince of Wales, to whom she was united at Amboise, in July or August, 1470." Richard is said to have been, early in his life, attached to Lady Anne. It was said that she died of consumption, which was aggravated by grief at the loss of her son, and there seems to be no reason for attributing to

Richard III. the additional crime of having hastened her death. There is no doubt that he was ready to console himself as soon as possible for that sad event, which took place March 16th, 1485.

36. YOUNG DAUGHTER OF CLARENCE. This was Margaret, born August 14th, 1473. Eventually she became sole heir of her grandfather, Richard Neville, the King Maker. In 1513 she was created Countess of Salisbury. She married Sir Richard Pole, chamberlain to Prince Arthur, son of Henry VII., by whom she had four sons and one daughter. The youngest of these sons, Reginald, was the famous Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury in the reign of Queen Mary. One daughter, Ursula, married Henry Lord Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham in Henry VIII. Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, came to an untimely end. She was one of the many victims of the partiality of Henry VIII. for executions, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, May 27th, 1541, when she was nearly sixty-eight years old.

ACT I. SCENE 1.

37.—The events of the first act belong historically to very various periods. In the first scene we see Clarence being led to imprisonment. This happened late in 1477. The physicians, we hear, are much perturbed about Edward's health; a matter appertaining to the year 1483. But from Gloucester's opening speech we must understand that these events happened not long after the death of Henry and Prince Edward, and the other events represented in III. Henry VI. act v. Following this indication we find, in the second scene, that Henry's body has not yet been removed from St. Paul's to its last resting-place at 'Hertsey; hardly three months, Gloucester says, have passed since the battle at Tewkesbury; many men of low birth have lately been ennobled (sc. 3, lines 81-83): some, we may suppose, being men advanced for service against Warwick and the Lancastrians. These marks of time will account also for Queen Margaret's appearance in scene 3. The sentence of banishment against her is to be taken as of very recent date, and rather than obey it, as she herself says (lines 169, 170), she has preferred to brave death and remain in England. That she should make her way into the palace and interfere in a discussion as she does is indeed very unlikely; but there is a much greater improbability, apart from the historical impropriety, if we are to suppose, as has commonly been done, that Margaret has returned into England from banishment, for no purpose whatever that can be conceived, and has by some marvellous means been able to get to London, and find her way into the palace, without hindrance.

38. Lines 1, 2:

*Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by this SUN of York.*

The allusion to Edward's badge, the rose *en soleil*, or the half-faced sun, has occurred before. See II. Henry VI. note 236, and III. Henry VI. note 114. These two lines are quoted by Philomusus, when asked by Burbage to act a little of Richard III. in *The Return from Parnassus*, iv. 3. (Reprint, p. 141).

39. Line 5: *Now are our brows bound with victorious*

WREATHS.—Compare III. 2. 40; iv. 4. 333 *infra*; and III. Henry VI. II. 3. 52, 53, and v. 3. 2. The laurel crown or wreath of victory seems to have been a favourite image, borrowed no doubt from the classic poets, or their imitators. At Rome the *corona triumphalis*, made of laurel, was worn by a victorious general in his triumph: cf. Coriolanus, I. 2. 58-60; Julius Caesar, v. 3. 82; Lucrece, 108, 109.

40. Lines 7-13:

*Our stern alarms chang'd to merry meetings,
Our dreadful marches to delightful measures.
Grim-visag'd war hath smooth'd his wrinkled front;
And now—instead of mounting barbed steeds,
To fright the souls of fearful adversaries—
He capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.*

Reed compares Lyly, *Campaspe*, II. 2:

Is the warlike sound of drum and trumpet turned to the soft noise of lyre and lute? the neighing of barbed steeds, whose lowndes filled the air with terror, and whose breathes dimmed the sun with smoake, converted to delicate tunes and amorous glances?

—Works, vol. I. p. 220.

Steevens noticed that in the edition of *The Mirror for Magistrates* of 1610, when that work was "newly enlarged with a last part called a Winter Night's Vision," the present passage, with others in this play, was imitated in *The Trajicall Life and Death of Richard III.*, a legend substituted by Niccols for Segar's Tragedy of King Richard which appeared in the previous editions. Niccols's part is thought to have been written as early as 1603. For another reference to these lines, in a poem attributed to Marlowe, see Introduction, p. 101.

41. Line 17: a wanton AMBLING nymph.—Compare the description of Richard II. in I. Henry IV. III. 2. 60:

The skipping king, he ambled up and down.

Romeo and Juliet, I. 4. 11: "I am not for this ambling." Baret says (Alveaire, *sub voce*): "*An ambling horse—subjeus. qui molli gradu & sine succussura gestat.*" The word means "going smoothly" (*Sine succussura* = without jolting).

42. Line 19: *Cheated of feature by DISSEMBLING nature.*—*Dissembling* means here almost the same as "false." Nature, Richard complains, was treacherous and unfair to him. Warburton said (Var. Ed. vol. xix. pp. 9, 10): "By *dissembling* is not meant *hypocritical* nature, that pretends one thing and does another; but nature that puts together things of a dissimilar kind, as a brave soul and a deformed body." Douce, p. 332, thinks the meaning is that "nature had made for Richard features *unlike* those of other men. To *dissemble*," he says, "signifies the reverse of to *resemble*, in its active sense." Singer interprets the word by "disfiguring," "distorting." But there is no satisfactory evidence that *resemble* ever had this transitive meaning of "make like," which Douce assumes. Malone instanced the following passage from *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*:

Can Nature so *dissemble* in her frame,
To make the one so like as like may be,
And in the other print no character
To challenge any marks of true descent?

—Hazlitt, Shakespeare's Library, pt. 2, vol. I. p. 235.

I believe the meaning here to be merely "act deceitfully" or "misleadingly." "Cloke," "faine," are the meanings which Baret gives: (Alvearle, *sub voce*). Sometimes we find the word signifying "give or exhibit a false appearance," as in the following passage, where Singer thinks the sense to be "distort:"

What wicked and *dissembling* glass of mine
Made me compare with Herminia's spherish eyne?
—A Midsummer Night's Dream, ii. 2. 98, 99.

43. Line 22: *so lamely* and UNFASHIONABLE.—The collocation of adverb with adjective is not uncommon. Compare iii. 4. 50, *infra*, and Richard II. note 59.

44. Line 24: *this weak PIPING time of peace*.—The war is done, says Richard, and there is no place for me in this peaceful time of weakness and piping; i.e. among feeble, shrill-voiced women or old men. Otherwise, there may be a contrast intended between the pipe and tabor, which were signs of peace, and the drum and fife, which symbolized war. Compare Much Ado, ii. 3. 13-15.

45. Line 26: *Unless to spy my shadow in the sun*.—This is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *se*, which seems a corruption.

46. Line 32: *Plots have I laid*, INDUCTIONS dangerous.—Marston has "conveyed" this line in the Fawne, ii. 1:
Plots ha you laid? Inductions, dangerous?
—Works, ii. 32.

Shakespeare's authority for the statement in this and the following lines is Hall, who got it from Polydore Virgil. See note 4, where the passage is quoted. An allusion to this has already occurred in III. Henry VI. v. 6. 86. The story is given in The Mirror for Magistrates (vol. ii. 232), in the Legend of Clarence, stanzas 24 to 50. Baldwin, who wrote that legend, doubtless, took the story from Hall. *Induction*, which seems to mean here "the ground" or "framework" of a plot, is used again in this play (iv. 4. 5) in much the same sense, where Margaret says:

A dire *induction* am I witness to.

47. Lines 49, 50:

O, *belike* his majesty hath some intent
That you shall be new christen'd in the Tower.

Pope omitted O,—which is *extra metrum*,—in line 49. But this makes the transition of thought from line 48 somewhat too abrupt. In line 50 *shall* is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *should*, which, however, has occurred in line 48.

48. Lines 52-54:

Yea, Richard, when I know; FOR I protest
As yet I do not: but, as I can learn,
He hearkens after prophecies and dreams.

Ff. read *but* instead of *for* in line 52, wrongly. Perhaps it was introduced from the next line by mistake.

49. Line 55: *cross-row*.—This name for the alphabet is an abbreviation of *Christ cross row*, which in the form *eris cross row* is yet preserved in nursery rhymes. One of the first lessons taught to a child at school was the prayer "Christ cross me speed in all my work" which is found in a school lesson contained in Bodl. MS. Rawlinson 1032 (referred to by Halliwell). The sentence is coupled

with the alphabet, which no doubt would be the next thing learnt, in the following title of a poem: "*Cryste Crosse me spede*. A. B. C." which was printed by Wynkyn de Worde. The prayer and the alphabet seem to have been said together. I have been told that in dame-schools in the North of England it used, not long ago, to be a custom for children to say their letters thus: "*Christes crosse be my speed! A, B, C*," &c. Either because of this connection, or, possibly, because the alphabet (as some say) was preceded in old primers by a cross, the name *cross row* or *Christ's cross row* came to denote the alphabet. Skelton, Against Vanemous Tongues, says:

For before on your brest, and behind on your back
In Romaine letters I never founde lack;
In your *cross row* new Christ crosse you spede.
—Works, ed. Dyce, i. 133.

Cotgrave has: "*La croix de par Dieu*. The *Christi-crosse-row*; or, the hornbooke wherein a child learnes it." And "*Abece*. An Abece, the *Crosse-row*; an alphabet, or orderly list, of all the letters." Compare Heywood's epigram Of the letter H:

H, is worst among letters in the *cross row*.

50. Line 65: *That tempts him to this extremity*.—This, the reading of Q. 1, has been generally accepted as right. The other Quartos, by the common misprint of *t* for *r*, have *tempte* or *temps* for *tempts*, and this appears to have been the source of the line as it is found in Ff.:

That tempts him to this harsh Extremity.

51. Line 67: *Antony Woodville*.—Qq. here read *Anthony Woodvile*; F. 1 has *Woodeville*, which may have been meant to indicate that the word should be made a trisyllable in pronunciation, as Capell suggested. This is the only passage where the word occurs in the play, excepting in Ff., in the dubious line ii. 1. 68. (See note 224.)

52. Line 68: *That made him send Lord Hastings to the Tower*.—I have been unable to find any authority for this statement, which seems based on some misconception; perhaps, as suggested in the Clar. Press edn., of the passage of More quoted *infra*, note 344.

53. Line 71: *By heaven, I think there's no man is secure*.—Q. 1, Q. 2, Q. 3 read:

By heauen I thinke there is no man is securde.

The others omit *is* after *man*. Ff. read:

By heauen, I thinke there is no man secure.

This looks rather like an attempted emendation of the line in Qq., which we have retained, following Capell, for the text, with his slight alterations of *there's* for *there is*, and *secure* for *securde*.

54. Line 75: *Lord Hastings was to her for his delivery*.—Thus Qq. F. 1 has

Lord Hastings was, for her delivery.

The other Folios have *his* instead of *her*.

55. Line 81: *The jealous o'erworn widow*.—*O'erworn* = worn out; compare Venus and Adonis, 135, Sonnet 63, l. 2. Elizabeth Woodville was born in 1437, so that even if we take 1477 as the date of the present act, her age would be no more than forty. But Richard is sneering at the fact that she had been married before she became Ed-

ward's wife. Compare iii. 7. 185, 186 *infra*, and the note thereon.

54. Line 83: *Are mighty gossips in THIS monarchy.*—Ff. read *our*. The text is from Qq.

57. Line 84: *BESSECH your graces both to pardon me.*—This is Dyce's correction. Qq. and Ff. have *I beseech*.

58. Line 87: *with HIS brother.*—We have retained the reading of Qq. Ff. give *your*.

59. Line 92: *Well struck in years, fair, and not jealous.*—*Years* and *fair* are each pronounced as dissyllables. The expression "well struck in years" appears to have been strange to Steevens. It occurs, however, in Taming of the Shrew, ii. 1. 302; and "Stricken in years" is a common enough expression; Cotgrave, *sub voce* Aage (quoted in Clar. Pr. Ed.) has "avoir de l'age . . . to be well in years, or well stricken in years." We find it also in the Authorized Version of the Bible; compare, for instance, 1 Kings i. 1.

60. Line 94: *A cherry lip, a bonny eye, a passing pleasing tongue.*—It is most likely that the author did not intend to keep in both phrases, *a cherry lip, a bonny eye*. Though we have not altered the text, it would be perhaps better, with Pope, to omit the latter phrase.

61. Line 95: *And that the queen's KIN are made gentle-folke.*—Qq. Ff. have *kindred*, which makes a very awkward line. Rowe amended it by omitting *and*, and Steevens by omitting *that*. But the simple emendation we have adopted seems preferable. It is very probable that *kindred* may have been written by an oversight. Compare below, iii. 7. 212:

Which we have noted in you to your *kindred*;

where Qq. read *kin* and Ff. *kindred*. For the use of *kin*, in this sense, in Shakespeare, compare King John, i. 1. 273: "I will show thee to my *kin*;" and Richard II. iv. 1. 141: Shall *kin* with *kin* and kind with kind confound.

62. Line 97: *nought to do.*—See Midsummer Night's Dream, note 243.

63. Line 103: *BESSECH your grace.*—This is Dyce's correction. Qq. read *I beseech* (as they do also in line 84 above); Ff. have *I do beseech*.

64. Line 105: *We know thy charge, BRAKENBURY, and will obey.*—This line gives colour to the suggestion that originally a *keeper* had assigned to him some, if not all, of Brakenbury's speeches. *Keeper*, if substituted here for *Brakenbury*, would make the line rhythmical. At present it is incurably inharmonious.

65. Line 124: *Well are you welcome TO THE open air.*—This is the reading of Q. 1, Q. 2. Ff. have *this*, following the other Quartos.

66. Lines 132, 133:

*More pity that the EAGLE should be mew'd,
WHILE kites and buzzards PREY at liberty.*

These lines are given from Qq. Ff. read *eagles, whiles, and play*.

67. Lines 136-140.—Hall, *sub anno* 1483, says, "whether it was with the melancholy, and anger that he toke with

the Frenche king, for his vntruthe and vnkyndnes, or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the whiche he was lauche geuen) he sodainly fell sicke, and was with a greuous maledy taken" (pp. 338, 339). More says that Richard "forethought to be king in case that the king his brother (whose life hee looked that *euil dyete* shoulde shorten) should happe to decease . . . while his children wer yonge" (p. 10).

68. Line 133: *Now, by Saint Paul.*—Ff. have *S. John*, but, in common with most editors, we have adopted the reading of Qq. Gloster's favourite oath appears to have been by Saint Paul.

69. Line 153: *Warwick's youngest daughter.*—Anne is here rightly described: but in III. Henry VI. iii. 3. 242, &c, she is always referred to as the elder of Warwick's daughters.

ACT I. SCENE 2.

70.—This scene represents Anne as present in London at the funeral of King Henry; a thing which, historically, would be impossible, for Queen Margaret carried her away with her from the battle of Tewkesbury, and, after that, Clarence kept her in concealment till 1473, when Richard discovered her in London, disguised, and conveyed her to St Martin's le Grand, to sanctuary. Holinshed, who copies Hall, gives the following account of the funeral. "The dead corps on the Ascension euen was conueled with billes and glaues pomposelle (if you will call that a funerall pompe) from the Tower to the church of saint Paule, and there laid on a belyr or coffin bare faced, the same in presence of the beholders did bleed; where it rested the space of one whole daie. From thence he was caried to the Blackfriars, and bled there likewise; and on the next daie after, it was conueled in a boat, without priest or clerke, torch or taper, singing or safang, vnto the monasterie of Chertesele, distant from London fiftene miles, and there was it first buried: but after, it was remooued to Windesor" (iii. p. 324). Holinshed's authority for the incident of the corpse bleeding was Warkworth's Chronicle. Hall omits it, as did the Croyland Chronicle, Fabyan, and Polydore Virgil. It was commonly believed that a murdered person's body would bleed at the touch of the murderer. Staunton quotes from the Demonologie by King James VI. (afterwards James I. of England), a passage in which his majesty treats the matter as an undoubted fact. He also refers to a case in the fourth year of Charles I., where the clergyman of a parish in Hertfordshire deposed to a corpse having sweated and opened its eyes and shed blood from its fingers, on being touched by a suspected person. Another case, cited by Grey (Notes on Shakespeare, vol. II. pp. 54, 55), is also referred to by Sir Walter Scott in The Fair Maid of Perth, note v (chap. xxiii.). The case is that of Philip Stansfield, who, in 1688, was accused before the High Court of Justiciary in Edinburgh of the murder of his father. The indictment against him stated that the body bled when Stansfield raised up the shoulder to lift it up to the coffin; and, though rejected by Stansfield's counsel as a superstitious observation, the occurrence was insisted on as a link in the evidence, and commented

on as such by the king's counsel in charging the jurf. Scott makes use of the belief in the course of his story.

Ff. make a second scene at this place, otherwise *the* might have supposed that the second scene was only a continuation of the foregoing; for the locality (which is not designated in the old editions) is, evidently, still in some street.

71. Lines 19, 20:

*Than I can wish to ADDERS, spiders, toads,
Or any creeping venom'd thing that lives!*

The supposed poisonous qualities of spiders and toads are frequently alluded to. See Richard II. note 202; and concerning the adder, note 203 of same play. In line 19 we have adopted the reading of Qq; Ff. have

Than I can wish to Hotters, to Spiders, Toades,

a reading which suggests that an alteration had been intended, but left incomplete.

72. Line 25: *And that be heir to his unhappiness!*—Qq. omit this line.

73. Lines 27, 28:

*MORE miserable by the death of him
THAN I am made by my young lord and thee!*

These words are quoted by Anne, with alterations, in iv. 1. 76, 77, where she uses the word *life*, instead of *death* which occurs here. The reason for the variety is obvious. In both places Qq read *As miserable* and *As I am made*. We have retained the reading of Ff.

74. Line 20.—*Chertsey* is in Surrey near the Thames, not far below Staines. There was a very ancient abbey there, having a mitred abbot with a seat in the House of Lords. The convent buildings have long since been demolished, and only a very few fragments are now remaining.

75. Line 31: *And still, as you are weary of THE weight.*—*The* is the reading of Qq.; Ff. read

76. Line 39: *stand thou.*—So Qq.; Ff. read *stand'st thou*.

77. Line 42: *And SPURN UPON thee, beggar.*—"Elsewhere in Shakespeare," the Clarendon Press editor observes, "*spurn* is followed by *at* or *against*," as indeed it appears generally to be in other writers. The following instance of the use of *spurn on* is given in that edition from Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, book iv.:

So that with in a while I gesse
She had on such a chaunce *sporned*
That all her mod was overturned

—*Works*, vol. ii. p. 14.

78. Line 60: *Thy DEED, inhuman and unnatural.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *deeds*.

79. Line 70: *Villain, thou know'st NO law of God nor man.*—Ff. have *nor* for *no*. We have followed Qq.

80. Line 76: *Of these supposed CRIMES.*—Many editors adopt the reading of Qq., which have *evils* instead of *crimes*. But surely *crimes* is the more appropriate word in Gloucester's mouth to describe the *heinous deeds* (line 53) which Anne has just been laying to his charge, and of which he now seeks to acquit himself. Grant White observes that the opposition is between *known evils* and

supposed crimes; "and the evils which Anne actually suffered, and for which she claims the right to curse, were the direct consequence of crimes which Richard calls *supposed*." And further, if we retain the reading of Qq. we exchange a rhythmical for an unrhymical line. It may be that the word *evils* was introduced here by some careless transcriber, whose eye was caught by it in line 79.

81. Line 78: *DEFUS'D infection of A man.*—F. 1 omits *a*. Anne calls Richard, if we are to take her words literally, "a wide-spread pestilence," i.e. a plague to his kind, whose powers for evil are not confined within a limited space, but are spread far abroad. But as Anne's words are, both here and elsewhere, antithetic to those of Richard, who has just addressed her as "divine perfection of a woman," many commentators follow Johnson, who believed that here *defus'd* meant "irregular," "uncouth." It is true that this word, whose original meaning is "scattered," "disordered," frequently is used to describe anything—especially dress—which is irregular, wild, or uncouth. Thus in Henry V. v. 2. 61, 62:

defus'd attire

And everything that seems unnatural.

And as that which is diffused thereby in many cases becomes vague and indistinct, we find the word often with the meaning "shapeless," a sense which the Clarendon Press editor and Schmidt would give it in the present instance. Compare the following passage which Dyce (*Glossary, sub voce*) quotes from Greene's *Farewell to Folly*, 1691: "He that marketh our follies in being passing humorous for the choise of apparell, shall find Oulds confused chaos to afforde a multitude of *defused* inuentions" (*Works*—Huth Library Reprint—vol. ix. p. 231). The only other instance of the word, in such a sense, in Shakespeare is in *King Lear*, i. iv. 1, 2:

If but as well I other accents borrow
That can my speech *defuse*.

Here the word means "make indistinct," "confused," or "strange." Cotgrave, it may be remarked, explains *obscur* by "*diffused*, hard to understand."

82. Lines 79, 80:

*FOR these known evils, but to give me leave,
By circumstance, to CURSE thy cursed self.*

Qq. read *For* in line 79; Ff. *of*. Mr. Spedding's suggestion is that perhaps *curse* was intended to have been changed into *a curse*. "In some respects," he says, "it fits the place better. 'Accuse' answers better to 'acquit' in the speech before, and 'excuse' in those after" (*New Shak. Soc. Transactions*, 1875, p. 6).

83. Line 86: *by despairing, SHOULDEST thou stand excus'd.*—Ff. have *shalt*; the text is from Qq.

84. Line 89: *Why, then, they are not dead.*—So Qq.; Ff. have:

Then say they were not slain.

85. Line 92: *slain by Edward's hand.*—This is the reading of Qq.; Ff. have *hands*.

86. Line 100: *That never dreamt on aught but butcheries.*—This is from Qq.; Ff. read *dream'st*.

87. Line 101:

Didst thou not kill this king?

Glo. I DID, I grant ye.

We are responsible for the addition of the words *I did*.
 FF. read:

Did'st thou not kill this king?

Rich. I grant ye.

But with this reading the line is imperfect, and Gloster's answer lacks point. No dramatic effect is gained by a pause after Anne's words, but rather the contrary. Ritson proposed *I grant ye, yea*; but this is unsatisfactory. We might suppose that the line was originally "I grant ye y^e," and that first the transcriber, or printer, inserted *ye* instead of *y^e* (i.e. *that*), and then the word being thought to be a useless repetition was omitted.

88. Line 105: *The BETTER for the King of heaven, that hath him*.—This is the reading of FF. Qq. have *better*, which many editors adopt. But *better* gives more point to Gloster's half-hidden sneer.

89. Line 120: *Thou wast the cause, and most accurs'd EFFECT*.—The meaning is, "It was thou who both caused this to be done and put it into effect." *Effect* has the unnatural meaning of "effector," "doer," "agent;" the action being put for the agent somewhat as in expressions like "I'll be the death of him." The word *effect* is used because of its occurrence in the next line, in order to make a sort of antithesis between the two speeches. There is a straining after antithetic effect throughout the dialogue.

90. Line 126: *These nails should RENT*.—Shakespeare uses this form of the verb in five other places; e.g. in *Mids. Night's Dream*, iii. 2. 216:

And will you *rent* our ancient love asunder?

91. Line 156: *No, when my father York and Edward wept*.—Dyce follows Pope in giving *Not*. We have retained the reading of FF. Lines 156-158 are answered by lines 163-164, and hence *No* is the more suitable reading; lines 160-163 are practically an addition, and cannot be considered necessarily to require that line 156 should begin with *not*. In Qq. lines 155-160 do not appear, having probably been struck out of the MS. from which Q. 1 was printed. Delius observes that when this play had become more popular than the preceding plays of Henry VI. the references to those plays might well be left out, while they were very unlikely to be added.

92. Line 168: *My tongue could never learn sweet smoothing WORDS*.—This is the reading of Qq.; FF. have *word*.

93. Line 183: *Take up the sword again, or take up me*.—This line is perhaps burlesqued in the following passage from *The First Part of Jeronimo*:

Take up thy pen, or I'll take up thee.

—Dodsley, iv. 368.

The expression *take up* was often used quibblingly.

94. Lines 200-204:

Anne. All men, I hope, live so.

Glo. Vouchsafe to wear this ring.

Anne. To take, is not to give. [She puts on the ring.]

Glo. Look, how THIS ring encompasseth thy finger,
 Even so thy breast enclareth my poor heart.

F. 1 prints this passage as follows, omitting line 202 altogether:

Ans. All men I hope live so.

Vouchsafe to wear this Ring.

Rich. Look how my Ring encompasseth thy finger,
 Even so thy breast enclareth my poor heart.

The correct text is given by Qq. Mr. Spedding remarks that we have here "an ordinary accident of the press. The printer had missed out the whole of Anne's last half-line speech. The reader (or whoever in those days was charged with correcting the first proof), finding Richard's name prefixed to two successive speeches" (viz. lines 201 and 203 of our text) "struck out one of them, and (as it happened) he struck out the first." And, as he goes on to say, "the state of the type bears traces of what occurred, for the word *Vouchsafe* does not range with the other lines" (*New Shak. Soc. Transactions*, 1875, p. 7).

In line 203 we follow the reading of Qq. F. 1, as will be seen, reads *my* instead of *this*; a reading which was emended in F. 2 to *thy*.

95. Line 212: *Crosby Place*.—We learn from More that "Crosbies place in Bishops gates strete" was "wher the protectour kept his household" (p. 66). It was built by Sir John Crosby, grocer and woolman, on the site of certain buildings leased to him by the prioress of St. Helens in Bishopsgate in the year 1466. "This house he built of stone and timber, very large and beautiful, and the highest at that time in London" (*Stow, Survey*, p. 181). After his death in 1475 Richard bought the house of his widow. It has been the dwelling of many persons of note; amongst others, of the Countess of Pembroke, Sir Philip Sidney's sister, and of Sir Thomas More. Only one gable of the old frontage to Bishopsgate Street now exists, but the banquetting-hall remains, or, at any rate, a great part of it. For a long time Crosby House was a place of worship for various dissenting bodies, when it was deformed by hideous galleries. Afterwards it was the warehouse of Messrs. Holmes and Hall, a firm of packers who seem from Steevens' description (*Var. Ed.* vol. xviii. p. 30) to have been of some note in their day. In 1831 the exertions of some private persons saved the site from being let on building leases, and, after being for some time occupied as a literary and scientific institute, it has since 1860 been a restaurant under the name of Crosby Hall.

96. Line 225:

Glo. Sirs, take up the corse.

Geit. Towards Chertsey, noble lord?

FF. omit Gloster's speech.

97. Line 228: *White-Friars*.—The house of the Carmelite or White Friars stood on the south side of Fleet Street, between the Temple and Salisbury Court. Sir Richard Grey founded it in 1241, Edward I. giving the site to the prior and brethren of the order, which was dedicated to the Blessed Mary of Mount Carmel. The Carmelites were commonly designated White Friars, from the white cloak and scapular which they wore over their brown habit. They possessed, it is said, the best library in the city. Many men of note were buried within their priory. After Henry VIII. dissolved the convent the locality still retained its privileges of sanctuary, such as freedom from

arrest. It became a notorious nest of thieves, bullies, and other lawless folk. Many allusions to it, under its nickname of *Alsatia*, occur in the later Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. Much of the action of Scott's *Fortunes of Nigel* passes within this precinct. We learn from Prynne, *Epistle Dedicatorie to Histriomastix*, that shortly before 1633 a new theatre had been built at Whitefriars. Its name survives as that of a street. Holinshed says that the body was taken from St. Paul's "to the Blackfriars" (see note 70), and possibly this passage may have been in Shakespeare's recollection. If so, the alteration to Whitefriars was doubtless accidental.

98. Lines 227, 228:

*Was ever woman in this humour woo'd?
Was ever woman in this humour won?*

With these lines we may compare Titus Andronicus, II. 1. 82, 83, and I. Henry VI. v. 3. 77, 78.

Fleay thinks (*Shakespeare Manual*, 20, 21) that the wooing of Estrild, in *Loerline*, IV. 1 (A.D. 1595) is imitated from this scene. Objections have often been made to this representation of Richard's wooing of Anne. But the scene is not the only one of the kind. Rotrou in his *Wenceslas*, 1637, depicts the impunity and triumph of "one of the worst characters that was ever drawn." In that play the curtain drops on "the vanishing reluctance of the heroine to accept the hand of a monster whom she hated, and who had just murdered her lover in the person of his own brother" (Hallam, *Literature of Europe*, pt. III. ch. vi. sect. 2, § 31). There is a somewhat similar scene at the end of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Bloody Brother*. Corneille, too, in the *Cid*, thought it not inconsistent with propriety that Chimène should marry Rodrigue after he had killed her father.

99. Line 233: *The bleeding witness of HER hatred by.*—This is the reading of Qq.: Ff. have *my*.

100. Line 243: *Young, valiant, wise, and, no doubt, right ROYAL.*—Johnson thought we should read *loyal* instead of *royal*; but, as Stevens pointed out, there is an ironical allusion to the alleged illegitimacy of Henry's son Edward.

101. Line 249: *On me, that HALT, and am mis-shapen thus!*—*Halt* is the reading of Qq.: Ff. have *hal's*.

ACT I. SCENE 3.

102. Line 5: *And cheer his grace with quick and merry WORDS.*—This is the reading of Qq.: Ff. have *eyes*.

103. Line 6: *If he were dead, what would betide OF me?*—F. 1 prints this line twice over, first at the bottom of p. 176, and then at the top of p. 177. *Of* is the reading of Qq.: Ff. have *on*.

104. Lines 11, 12:

*Ah, he is young; and his minority
Is put unto the trust of Richard Gloster.*

It was at the council assembled after Edward V. entered London that Richard was made protector; but he had been chosen for the office, directly the question of a protectorate was mooted, by all the lords who were not of the queen's party. Polydore Virgil says that Edward

in his will committed his sons to Richard's keeping. At the time of Edward's death Richard was not in London, but in Yorkshire, returning from the war against the Scots.

105. Line 17: Enter . . . STANLEY.—Throughout the first and second acts Qq. and Ff. call this individual *Lord Derby*, but in the last three acts—excepting in the stage-directions, which generally call him *Derby*—he is always *Stanley*. As is well known, *Stanley* was not created Lord Derby until after the battle of Bosworth. Shakespeare seems to have become aware in the course of the play that the proper designation was *Stanley*, but he did not trouble to correct the places where he had written *Derby* in acts I. and II. But it is too great a breach of dramatic propriety that a character who has been introduced as Lord Derby should suddenly, and for no apparent reason, begin to be addressed as Lord *Stanley*. It is of course out of the question to rewrite the lines where the misnomer occurs. All we can do is to follow Theobald and turn *Derby* wherever it occurs into *Stanley*. This obliges us, indeed, in line 17, to say "the lord of *Stanley*, which is an incorrect expression, since "*Stanley*" is not a territorial title; but no other course seems possible.

106. Line 20: *The Countess Richmond.*—This was Stanley's second wife, the Lady Margaret Beaufort, whose name is preserved as the foundress of professorships of divinity at Oxford and Cambridge. She was the only daughter of John Beaufort, third Earl of Somerset (see I. Henry VI. note 6). She married (1) Edmund, Earl of Richmond; (2) Sir Henry Stafford, second son of Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham (see II. Henry VI. note 8); and (3) Thomas Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby (see above, note 18).

107. Line 30.—We have followed Qq. in assigning this line to Rivers. Ff. give it to the queen.

108. Line 39: *sent to WARN them to his royal presence.*—Shakespeare several times uses *warn* with the meaning of "summon." Palsgrave, who interprets the word by *monyshe*, and *defende* (i.e. forbid), gives also the following: "I warn a man to apere at a court in judgement. *Je somme, je adjourne, and je somons.*" Cotgrave gives "*Citer*. To cite, summon, adjourne, warn, serve with a writ to appeare." In Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* the word is said to have this sense in the dialect of Clydesdale, in such phrases as *warn the meeting*, or *warn the members*. It seems to be a law term.

109. Line 47: *Because I cannot flatter and SPEAK fair.*—This is the reading of Qq.: Ff. have *look fair*.

110. Line 53: *By silken, sly, insinuating JACKS.*—By is the reading of Qq.: Ff. have *With*. *Jack* was a common name for any man of the lower orders, or serving-man. It is very often used with the depreciatory sense which it has in the text, much as we should now use "fellow."

111. Line 54: *Riv. To WHOM in all this presence speaks your grace?*—We follow Qq. in giving this speech to Rivers. In Ff. it is assigned to Grey. It certainly seems more appropriate in the mouth of Rivers, the elder and

more important person of the two. F. 1 reads *who* instead of *whom*.

112. Lines 68, 69: *

The king, of his own royal disposition,

*Makes him to send; that thereby he may gather
The ground of your ill-will, and so remove it.*

There is some confusion of ideas in this speech; brought about, very likely, by the long parenthetical clause contained in lines 64-67. In order to make sense of the passage we must take the words of line 68 as though they had been "It is the king's own royal disposition." Instead of lines 68, 69, Ff. give only the line

Makes him to send, that he may learne the ground.

This looks, as Spedding observed, very much as though an alteration of the text had been begun and left incomplete in the copy from which F. 1 was printed. Ff. read on for *of* in line 68; lines 68, 69 are taken from Qq., with the exception of *so* in line 69, which is Capell's correction, the Qq. reading being *so*.

113. Lines 81, 82:

to ennoble those

* *That scarce, some two days since, were worth a NOBLE.*

The noble was a gold coin of the value of six shillings and eightpence. This passage is not the only pun on the word. Compare Richard II. v. 5. 67, 68, and note 322 thereon; also I. Henry VI. v. 4. 23.

114. Lines 90, 91:

*You may deny that you were not the CAUSE
Of my Lord Hastings' late imprisonment.*

Cause is the reading of Qq.; Ff. have *meane*, which would seem rather to mean "agent" or "instrument," than merely "bringer about." For the use of the negative after *deny*,—for the sake of emphasis it would seem,—compare Comedy of Errors, note 100, and Passionate Pilgrim, line 124.

115. Line 101: *A bachelor, a handsome stripling too.*—
This is the reading of Qq. Ff. give:

A Batchellor, and a handsome stripling too;

but this weakens the force of the line.

116. Line 102: *I wis your grandam had a worser match.*—See Merchant of Venice, note 197, concerning the word *wis* (A.S. *gewis*), which corresponds to the German *gewis*. Q. 1 correctly prints it as one word, while Ff. give *I wis*, as though *wis* were a verb.

117. Line 106: *Of those gross taunts I OFTEN have endur'd.*—F. 1 reads as follows:

Of those grosse taunts that oft I have endur'd.

Qq. have: *With those grosse taunts I often have endured.*

118. Lines 114, 115:

*Tell him, and spare not: look, what I have said
I will avouch in presence of the king.*

This is the reading of Qq. Ff. omit line 114, and read *avouch't* in line 115, instead of *avouch*.

119. Line 118: *Out, devil! I remember them too well.*—The reading of Ff. is *I do remember*, but this is distinctly
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* inferior to that in the text, which is taken from Qq. *I* must be emphasized by the speaker.

* 120. Lines 121, 122:

*Ere you were queen, ay, or your husband king,
I was a pack-horse in his great affairs.*

This is in accordance with the representation which the second and third parts of Henry VI. have given of Richard's actions. Historically the statement is incorrect. Gloster did not come into prominent notice till Warwick's rebellion in 1470. Indeed, at his brother's accession he was barely nine years of age. Compare III. Henry VI. note 14.

121. Lines 125, 126:

To ROYALINE his blood I SPILT mine own.

Q. Mar. [Aside] *Ay, and much better blood than his or thine.*

This is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *spent* instead of *spilt*, but this is less suitable to Margaret's answer. *Royaline* is unique in Shakespeare. It is found in Marlowe, Tamburlaine, act ii. sc. 3 (Works, p. 15); in Greene, Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay (Works, p. 169), and in Peele, Edward I. (Works, p. 377).

122. Lines 143, 144:

*Hie thee to hell for shame, and leave this world,
Thou cacodemon! there thy kingdom is.*

Cacodemon was a name for the evil genius which every man was supposed to have constantly hovering about him, prompting him to wrong actions, as *eudemon* or *calodemon* or *agathodemon* was the name of his guardian angel. Some, however, supposed that, while all demons were uncanny, some of them were merely mischievous, while the *cacodemons* were of a worse sort. Thus Skelton, in Why Come Ye not to Court, lines 895-897, tells how "maister Mewt, The Kinges French Secretary, is gone to another stede:"

To the devyll, syr Sathanas,

And to his college conuentiall,

As wel calodemonyall

As to cacodemonyall.

—Works, p. 164.

While Howell (quoted in The Encyclopædic Dictionary) says: "the Prince of darknes himself and all the *cacodemons* by an historiall faith beleve ther is a God" (Familiar Letters, vol. ii. No. 10, p. 18). In an astrological figure of the heavens, *cacodemon* appears to have been the name given to the twelfth house of the sun's course, the one which was ruled by the malign influence of Saturn. The word is said to have also signified the nightmare.

123. Line 147: *We follow'd then our lord, our LAWFUL king.*—So Qq. F. 1 has *Soveraigne for lawful*. The same sentiment occurs in III. Henry VI. iii. 1. 94, 95; and in Heywood, II. Edward IV. (Works, p. 182).

124. Line 150: *Far be it from my heart, the thought of it!*—So Qq. Ff. have *thereof* instead of *of it*.

125. Line 155: *As little joy enjoys the queen thereof.*—We have adopted Dyce's correction. Qq. and Ff. have *A little joy*, etc.

126. Line 161: *If not, that, I BEING queen, you bow like subjects.*—F. 1 has:

If not, that I am Queens, you bow like subjects.

We have taken the reading of Qq.

127. Lines 167-170:

Glo. Wert thou not banished on pain of death?

Q. Mar. I was;

But I do find more pain in banishment

Than death can yield me here by my abode.

Qq. omit these lines.

128. Line 172: *THE sorrow that I have, by right is yours.*
—We have followed the reading of Qq. Ff. have *This for The.*

129. Line 182: *So just is God, to right the innocent.*—
Ritson compares Thomas Lord Cromwell, ii. 3:

How just is God to right the innocent!

—Supplement to Shakespeare (1780), ii. 395.

130. Line 194: *COULD all but answer for that peevish brat!*—This is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *should.*

131. Line 200: *For Edward MY son, that was Prince of Wales.*—Ff. have “our son.” My is from Qq.

132. Line 204: *Long mayest thou live to wail thy children's LOSS!*—*Loss* is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *death*, which, however, occurs just below, line 207.

133. Line 213: *That none of you may live HIS natural age*—This is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *your* instead of *his*.

134. Line 214: *But by some unlook'd accident cut off!*—The meaning of this elliptical line is “But be each of you carried off suddenly by some unforeseen accident.” *Unlook'd* instead of *unlook'd for* is unique in Shakespeare.

135. Line 219: *O let THEM keep it till thy sins be ripe.*—*Them* refers to *heaven*, in line 217. Rowe substituted *heavens*, but unnecessarily. The same use of *heaven* as a plural occurs elsewhere. Compare Richard II. note 50.

136. Lines 228-230:

Thou elvish-mark'd, abortive, rooting hog!

Thou that wast seal'd in thy nativity

The slave of nature, and the son of hell!

Compare III. Henry VI. ii. 2 135-137:

But thou art neither like thy sire nor dam;

But like a foul mis-shapen stigmatic,

Mark'd by the Destinies to be avoided.

Persons born with scars or deformities were popularly believed to have been marked, or “taken,” by the wicked elves. Compare Hamlet, i. i. 163; Comedy of Errors, note 103. Such birth-marks were usually looked on as ominous, and those who bore them were regarded as persons of evil disposition who should be avoided. Oberon's charm at the conclusion of A Midsummer Night's Dream is, *inter alia*, to avert from the expected offspring

mark prodigious, such as are

Despised in nativity (v. i. 429, 430).

The precise application of *nativity* is to the disposition of the heavenly influences at the moment of birth. (See Guy Mannering, chap. iv., where there is a description of the prognostication of an infant's fortune from the posi-

tion of the heavenly bodies at its birth.) The next line explains Margaret's meaning. As a slave convicted of any crime was branded with a mark to show his infamy, so she says Richard, at his birth, was branded by the fates with the most repulsive deformity, as a sign that he was the vilest and foulest creature of nature, the child not of earth but of hell.

137. Line 233: *Thou RAG of honour!*—*Rag*=shred, tattered scrap; *rag of honour* denotes that Richard is one who shows hardly any trace of the nobility which comes to him by birth. But the expression is obscure. Elsewhere, as in Taming of the Shrew, iv. 3. 112, and Timon of Athens, iv. 3. 271, *rag* is used by Shakespeare in a similar sense without a qualifying phrase.

138. Line 241: *Poor painted queen, vain FLOURISH of my fortune!*—The former part of this line explains the latter. Elizabeth is but a *painted* queen, i.e. is only made up to resemble a queen; she is the *flourish*, the outward unessential insignia of that station to which, though shorn of its rights and privileges, Margaret alone possesses the right. Compare Love's Labour's Lost, ii. 1. 13, 14:

*Good Lord Boyet, my beauty, though but mean,
Needs not the painted flourish of your praise.*

139. Line 242: *Why strew'st thou sugar on that BOTTLED SPIDER?*—The exact meaning of this expression does not seem clear. The reference may be to strewing sugar for bees at the entrance of their hives, as is done by beekeepers in the winter; the meaning being that the queen is treating the venomous spider Richard as if he were a useful and comparatively harmless bee. The belief in the venomous nature of spiders (see Richard II. note 202) was very strong in Shakespeare's time. Batman vpon Bartholomew, 1582 (lib. xviii. chap. 10, pp. 345-347) gives numberless remedies for spiders' bites. On the other hand, spiders were held by some people to be delicious eating. In Kirby and Spence's Entomology, vol. i. pp. 311, 312, will be found some interesting instances of well-known persons who have freely partaken of spiders as a delicacy for the table. I myself have seen a boy at school eat spiders frequently, and they seemed to agree with him very well. But it is doubtful whether Shakespeare knew anything about edible spiders. The “Spinner,” as Batman calls the spider, was the type of everything that was poisonous. Spiders, according to Pliny, were very fond of honey, and were formidable enemies to bees; they certainly are partial to sweet things, and will come freely to the mixture of sugar, rum, &c., used by collectors for alluring moths.

As to the epithet *bottled*, the use of the word, in this sense=“bloated,” seems to be very uncommon. We have the expression “bottle-nosed” used by Marlowe; indeed it is common enough. It is possible that Shakespeare might have taken the epithet *bottled* from that epithet, meaning that the abdomen was swollen like the nose of a bottle-nosed man. The *blue-bottle* is, as is well known, the popular name of the fly that feeds on flesh-meat (*Musca vomitoria*). There is no doubt that it has got this name from its large blue abdomen. The *blue-bottle* was also the popular name of the *Centaurea Cyanus*, the plant commonly called the corn-flower, from its being found in

corn-fields, and deriving its name of *blue-bottle* from the funnel-shaped little flowers which form its composite blossom, and which are arranged somewhat in the form of a *bottle*. But it is singular that I cannot find *bottled* given in any old dictionary in the sense here used, nor have I come across any other instance of its use; it is not in Baret, or Cotgrave, or Florio, or Minshew, or Coles, or Bailey; nor in any glossary of the many that I have searched. It may therefore be that, in spite of the plausible explanation which can be given for *bottled*, i.e. "with a large belly like a bottle," it really is a misprint for *bloated*. Grey (vol. ii. p. 63) conjectured *bloated*, which is a very obvious conjecture; but it is perhaps better to leave the word as an addition to our language, although we may not be able to find any other instance of its use in this sense. In Ritson's Remarks on Shakespeare, 1783 (p. 132), is the following note: "'A spider,' says Dr. Johnson, 'is call'd *bottled*, because, like other insects, he has a middle slender, and a bell-shaped protuberant.' A most rational and satisfactory explanation,—very little worse than none at all. A *bottled spider* is the large bloated spider with a deep black shining skin, generally esteemed the most venomous." I do not know to what spider this learned and dogmatic critic intends to refer. Unfortunately for his statement, those spiders found in England which are black, are distinguished by having a longer and narrower abdomen than almost any other species. One of the commonest may be seen frequently in houses, a formidable-looking insect with long and powerful legs and a particularly thin body. The most *bloated* of all spiders is a very handsome insect, whose web may be found among the bushes in nearly all copses and thickets; a particularly large species, with the body beautifully marked, being common amongst the brackens and shrubs on the mountains in the English lake district.

140. Line 246: *bunch-back'd*.—This epithet occurs again below (iv. 4. 8). Those editors who prefer to read *bunch-back'd* thereby get rid of a very expressive epithet. Any one who has seen a toad, when attacked by a dog, will admit that *bunch-back'd* is a most appropriate epithet. The toad *bunches* up his back preparatory to emitting the venom, secreted in the follicles on his shoulders, which is his only defence against his assailant.

141. Lines 255, 256.—Thomas Grey was created Marquess of Dorset, 1475 (see above, note 14). The events of this scene are supposed to take place in 1477, 1478.

142. Line 264: *Our AERY buildeth in the cedar's top*.—This word, sometimes spelt *eyry* or *eyrie*, is of uncertain derivation. It originally meant the nest of an eagle or hawk or other bird of prey, built in a high, or as one might say, *airy* place; but came to be used, very generally, for the young brood of such birds. Shakespeare never uses the word in any other sense. See John, v. 2. 149:

And like an eagle o'er his *airy* towers;

and Hamlet, ii. 2. 354: "an *airy* of children," where it is used in a figurative sense=company of children; it also occurs in line 270 of this play, just below. These are the only places where Shakespeare uses the word. Some authorities, following Spelman, have sought to derive the

word from "Saxon *æghes*, Anglo-Norman *eye*, i.e. an egg;" but there is little doubt that this derivation is the wrong one. There is a Low Latin word *area* which means the nest of a bird of prey. Skeat first supposed the source of the word to be the Icelandic *ari*=an eagle, the German *aar*=a very plausible derivation, which, however, he afterwards, in his Addenda, withdrew. Most probably the word is formed from the French *aire*=an open space, one sense of which is the nest of a bird of prey. *Aire* is undoubtedly derived from the Latin *area*; and Littre thinks that it obtained the meaning of *nest* from the primary meaning of the word, a "level surface of the rock where the eagle makes its nest." Some authorities connect it with the Latin *aer*; and it may be noted that the old spelling of *air* was *ayre*, which is the only form of the word given in Baret's Alvearie.

As to eagles building on cedar trees Shakespeare again alludes to this in III. Henry VI. v. 2. 11, 12:

This yields the cedar to the axe's edge,
Whose arms gave shelter to the princely eagle;

and Marlowe in his Edward II.:

A lofty cedar-tree, fair flourishing,
On whose top-branches kingly eagles perch.

—Works, p. 195.

alluding to the habit of these birds perching on the tops of cedar trees. It would be interesting to know what gave rise to this connection between eagles and cedar trees. As a rule, all eagles build among precipitous rocks; and the larger species of hawks prefer crags, or the steep sides of mountains, as places for their nests, even where there is no lack of large trees. Eagles, however, do build in high trees in forests; but one would think that, even in Shakespeare's time, there would be very few eagles that built anywhere except upon cliffs or precipices. Pliny says (bk. x. chap. iii.): "Build they doo and make their nests upon rockes and trees" (pt. i. p. 273). Shakespeare and Marlowe may have remembered this passage; but a cedar tree is certainly not the tree one would expect an eagle to select.

143. Lines 266, 267:

And turns the SUN to shade;—alas! alas!—
Witness my SON, now in the shade of death.

The play on the words *sun* and *son* is obvious. However questionable the taste of such playing upon words may be, it is common enough in Shakespeare and his contemporaries. The same quibbling on the words is found in Romeo and Juliet, iii. 5. 127–129:

When the sun sets, the air doth drizzle dew;
But for the sunset of my brother's son
It rains downright.

See also Richard II. note 115, and John, note 116.

144. Line 270: *Your AERY buildeth in our AERY's nest*.—Some have thought that *aery* means "eagle" in this passage, and there certainly is some ground for this supposition, as it is not the young birds but the old ones that build the nest; it is doubtful, however, whether *aery* means anything more than brood=race. Pliny uses the word in that sense, in the same chapter from which we have quoted above, "one *airie* of Eagles needeth the reach of a whole country to furnish them with venison sufficient to their full" (p. 273).

145. Line 272: *As it WAS won with blood, lost be it so!*—So Qq.; Fl. read "*is* won."

146. Line 287: *I WILL NOT THINK but they ascend the sky.*—So Fl.; Qq. have *I'll not believe*; but *think* is used as "*to believe*" several times by Shakespeare; e.g. in Hamlet, i. 5. 121: "*would heart of man once think it?*" and in the same play, v. 2. 308: "*I do not think't*," i.e. *I do not believe it*; and a still more remarkable instance in Othello, ii. 3. 335: "*I think it freely.*" The *I'll not believe* of Qq. looks very much like an actor's substitution for *I will not think*, which is the more characteristic expression of the two.

147. Line 291: *His venom tooth will rankle to the death.*—See Comedy of Errors, note 125; compare III. Henry VI. ii. 2. 138: "*venom toads.*"

148. Line 292: *Have NOUGHT to do with him.*—We have adopted an anonymous conjecture given by the Cambridge edd. The reading of Qq. Fl. is: "*Have not to do with him.*" It is chiefly for metrical reasons that we have adopted this emendation, which is a very slight one, and does away with the disagreeable emphasis on *not*. We find the expression *have to do with*, in Measure for Measure, i. 1. 64, 65:

Nor need you, on mine honour, *have to do*
With any scruple;

in II. Henry VI. v. 2. 56:

Henceforth I will *not have to do* with pity,

and Lucrece (line 1092):

For day *hath nought to do* what's done by night;

where *what's = with what is*.

149. Line 304: *My hair doth stand ON end to hear her curses.*—So the first six quartos; Fl. Q. 7, Q. 8 have "*an end.*"

150. Lines 311, 312.—Gloucester evidently refers here to the supposed ingratitude of Edward. See above, i. 3. 117, and 121-125.

151. Line 314: *He is FRANK'D up to fatting for his pains.*—Baret, in his *Alvearie*, has "*a Franke: a cowpe;*" and "*Franked, to be made fatte.*" Cotgrave gives: "*A Frank (to feed hogs in.) Franc.*" None of the commentators, though they explain *frank*, seem to have noticed the particular expression *to frank up*, which occurs here and in this same play below (iv. 5. 8); these being the only two passages in which Shakespeare uses the verb "*to fatten*," "*shut up in a sty or frank for the purpose of fattening.*" Nowadays when rabbits or poultry are taken away from the rest and put into a hutch or coop to be fatted we say they are "*taken up.*"

152. Line 317: *To pray for them that have done SCATH to us.*—Compare John, ii. 1. 75:

To do offence and *scath* in Christendom;

and Titus Andronicus, v. 1. 7:

And wherein Rome hath done you any *scath*.

The verb is only used once, i.e. in Romeo and Juliet, i. 5. 86: "*This trick may chance to scathe you.*"

153. Lines 318, 319:

So do I ever: [Aside] *being well advis'd;*
For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself.

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In Fl. the words *Speakes to himself* are given between these two lines; we have placed the *Aside* in the middle of line 318, as the sense seems to require it. Some editors—Oyce, for instance—mark the whole speech *Aside*; while other editors, seeming to follow what is indicated by Fl., make only line 319 so spoken; but as Rivers's speech is probably meant to be ironical, Gloucester would be likely to make some answer aloud; and as the sense of *well advis'd* must be "*sensible*," "*prudent*," the latter half of line 318 seems to belong more to the portion spoken *aside*.

154. Line 321: *And for your grace,—and you, my noble lords.*—Fl. have:

And for your noble Grace; and yours my gracious Lord;

Q. 1, Q. 2:

And for your Grace, and you my noble Lo:

The text is substantially the same as that of Q. 1, Q. 2; only that they have the abbreviation *Lo: for Lords*; Q. 2, Q. 3, Q. 4, Q. 5, Q. 6 have *my noble lord*. If we adopt the reading of Fl., we must imagine that Rivers is the only lord that is asked to attend the king; but as in the next line, 322, Qq. Fl. agree in reading *Lords, will you go with me?* (Qq. *us*) the invitation was probably addressed to them all.

155. Line 328: *to many simple GULLS.*—There seems to be some difficulty as to the meaning of this word when applied to a dupe. *Gull*, in the dialect of many southern counties in England, means "*the young gosling*;" and in the north, especially in Cheshire, it means "*an unfledged bird.*" In this sense it is used by Shakespeare, perhaps, in Timon of Athens, ii. 1. 31:

Lord Timon will be left a naked *gull*,

and in the often quoted passage from I. Henry IV. v. 1. 60: "*that ungentele gull, the cuckoo's bird.*" There does not seem to be any particular reason for holding all the *gull* tribe, properly so called, to be especially foolish birds. On the other hand, nearly all persons who have been shipwrecked on desert islands, either in reality or in fiction, are represented as having sustained themselves on the eggs of sea-fowl, and on the birds themselves, which they procured by knocking them on the head with a stick. The common *guillemot* is generally called the *foolish guillemot*; but how it got its name is not very clear. Certainly it is not such a foolish-looking bird as the *little auk* or the *guffin*. Skeat derives *gull* from Welsh *gwyllan*, Breton *gwelán*; and he says that *gull* = a dupe, was "*from an untrue notion that the gull was a stupid bird,*" giving the verb *to gull* as a derivative from that word. It would seem that the verb *to gull* was used earlier than the substantive in the sense of "*to deceive*," "*to trick.*" Baret, for instance, gives the verb in that sense, but not the noun; and the old French verb *guiller*, "*to deceive*," is given as an obsolete word by Cotgrave. It is possible that *to gull* in the sense of "*to deceive*" has nothing to do with the bird at all. Most authorities seem to reject the derivation of Skinner from the Latin *gulo*; but there is no doubt that what is characteristic of the whole *gull* tribe is not their stupidity but their greediness. They will eat almost any kind of food, and in any quantity; it is just possible that it was from this characteristic that the word came to be used for a dupe or fool,

i.e. a person who would devour or swallow eagerly every thing that he heard.

159. Line 333: *To be reveng'd on RIVERS, VAUGHAN, GREY.*—So Qq.: Ff. have "Rivers, Dorset, Grey." We prefer the reading of Qq. because Vaughan was one of the first to suffer with Rivers and Grey. See note 20. Vaughan always appears to be pronounced as a dissyllable in this play. See below, ll. 4. 43; ill. 3. 24.

157. Lines 336, 337:

*And thus I clothe my naked villany
With old odd ends sto'n out of holy writ.*

Compare Merchant of Venice, i. 3. 98, 99:

Mark you this, Bassanio,
The devil can cite Sc. pture for his purpose.

158. Line 340: *STOUT, RESOLVED mates.*—Some editors hyphen these two epithets; but for *resolved* = "resolute," compare JOL. v. 6. 29: "a resolved villain."

159. Line 340: *But, sirs, b' SUDDEN in the execution.*—Compare Julius Caesar, ill. 1. 19:

Casca, be *sudden*, for we fear prevention.

160. Line 353: *Your eyes drop millstones, when fools' eyes FALL tears.*—So Ff.; Qq. have "drop tears." *Fall* is used transitively by Shakespeare in several other passages, e.g. in Lucrece, line 1551:

For every tear he *falls* a Trojan bleeds;

Mids. Night's Dream, v. 1. 143: "her mantle she did *fall*." Stevens quotes from Cæsar and Pompey, 1607:

Men's eyes must *mill-stones drop*, when fools shed tears.

The expression may have been a proverbial one.

ACT I. SCENE 4.

161. Lines 9, 10:

*Methought that I had broken from the Tower,
And was embark'd to cross to Burgundy.*

Printed as one line in Qq. Clarence was anxious to have gone to the aid of his sister, Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, her dominions having been attacked by Lewis XI. after the death of her husband, Charles the Bold, whose daughter, Mary, by a former wife, Clarence was anxious to marry. See above, note 4.

162. Line 27: *UNVALU'D jewels.*—This is the only instance in Shakespeare of the use of *unvalued* = invaluable. Compare Quarles' Virgin Widow, act iv. sc. 1:

How, how hast thou restor'd my dying life
With thy *unvalued* excellence. —Edn. 1656, p. 43.

163. Line 32: *That woo'd the slimy bottom of the deep.*—Q. 5, Q. 6, Q. 7, Q. 8 have *wad'd*. Heath conjectured *strewed*; but surely it would be a pity to destroy this very characteristic expression. Johnson's explanation of the line is, "By seeming to gaze upon it; or, as we now say, to ogle it" (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 55).

164. Lines 36, 37:

*Methought I had; and often did I strive
To yield the ghost: but still the envious food.*

Here again Qq. have only one line:

Methought I had, for still the envious food.

165. Line 38: *Stopp'd in my soul.*—Qq. have "kept in," a much less forcible expression. Compare Comedy of Errors, i. 2. 68: "Stop in your wind, sir."

166. Line 40: *my panting BULK.*—Compare the well-known passage in Hamlet, ill. 1. 96, 96:

To shatter all his *bulk*
And end his being.

Chaucer uses the old form *bouke* in the Knightes Tale, 2747, 2748:

The clotered blood, for eny leche-craft
Corrupteth, and is in his *bouke* ylaft.

—Works, vol. i. p. 269.

The original meaning of the word, in this sense, was the breast. Baret in his Alvearie gives as a synonym "*thoras et la poitrine*." Fabyan (p. 672) has: "he was cutte downe, beyng alyue, & his bowellys rypped out of his bely, and cast into the fyre there by hym, and lyued tyll the bowcher put his hande into the *bulke* of his body." The old Dutch form of the word was *bulcke*, in modern Dutch *buik*.

167. Line 46: *With that sour ferryman which posts write of.*—We prefer *sour* = morose to the reading of Qq. *grim*. Compare Richard II. v. 3. 121, "my *sour* husband;" and Julius Caesar, i. 2. 180:

And he will, after his *sour* fashion, tell you.

168. Line 50: *Who CRIED aloud.*—Ff. have *spake*; we prefer the reading of Qq.

169. Lines 53, 54:

*A shadow like an angel, with bright hair
Dabbled in blood.*

This passage has been imitated by Lee in his Mithridates, iv. 1:

when cold Lucretia's mourning shadow
His curtains drew, and lash'd him in his eyes
With her *bright tresses*, dabbled in her blood.

170. Line 55: *fleeting.*—Compare Antony and Cleopatra, v. 2. 240, 241:

I am marble-constant; now the *fleeting* moon
No planet is of mine.

171. Lines 58–60.—Stevens points out that Milton must have imitated this passage in book iv. of Paradise Regained, when describing the sufferings of our Saviour:

Infernal ghosts, and hellish furies, round
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd.

172. Line 66: *O BRAKENBURY, I have done those things.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *Ah keeper, keeper*. See below, note 175.

173. Lines 69–72.—Qq. omit these four lines.

174. Line 72: *O spare my guiltless wife.*—Clarence's wife died December, 1476 (see note 4), more than a year before his impeachment.

175. Line 73: *I pray thee, BRAKENBURY, STAY by me.*—Qq. have "gentle keeper;" Ff.:

Keeper, I pray thee sit by me a-while.

We have adopted Pope's emendation, having followed already the reading of Qq. above, line 66, where Clarence does not address Brakenbury as *keeper*.

176. Line 76: *I will, my lord: God give your grace good rest!*—Ff. have at beginning of this scene *Enter Clarence*

and keeper, and after this line, which is given to the keeper, we have a stage-direction, "Enter Brakenbury," and to him is assigned the rest of the speech, beginning at the next line. *Brakenbury* was Lieutenant of the Tower; and we know from lines 96, 97 that Clarence was specially committed to his charge. It certainly would seem, from the stage-direction of F. 1, that the copy of the play from which that was transcribed, did assign the speeches in the former part of this scene, which we have given to *Brakenbury*, to another character (the keeper). There is no provision, however, for the exit of the keeper; and it would certainly seem that the Qq. on this point represent the better version of the two. Grant White defends the arrangement in Ff. on the ground that it would be *infra dig.* for *Brakenbury* to carry a great bunch of keys; and Hunter, in his *Illustrations* (vol. ii. pp. 83, 84), also prefers the reading of Ff. for the reasons: "First that it is improbable *Brakenbury*, who was the Lieutenant of the Tower, should pass the night in the sleeping room of his prisoner;" on which Dyce very pertinently observes that it is clear that this scene took place at daytime and not at night; secondly, Hunter thinks that the reflections of *Brakenbury* in this speech (75-83) having no reference to the dream, which Clarence has just narrated, would suit one better who had just entered and found Clarence sleeping, than one who had listened to such affecting words. He also thinks that the remarks, made by the person to whom Clarence narrates his dream, are more those of an uncultivated man, such as a keeper would be, than of one like *Brakenbury*. There is certainly some force in these latter objections; but, if we suppose *Brakenbury*, on his entrance, to pause a little and contemplate the sleeping Clarence, the words to which he gives utterance are appropriate, and may well be detached from the first line of the speech, on which we are commenting. The unnecessary introduction of a minor character is what a practical dramatist generally endeavours, if possible, to avoid; and we cannot say that there is sufficient reason for any such introduction here. As we have already said, Clarence was evidently committed to *Brakenbury's* special charge; and it is more likely that he would have made such confidences to him than to an inferior officer.

177. Lines 78, 79:

*Princes have but their TITLES for their glories,
An outward honour for an inward toil.*

Johnson would read *troubles*; the meaning of the line, however, would seem to be that the only reward princes have is their empty *titles*; though perhaps *troubles* would correspond better with the sense of the second line.

178. Lines 80, 81:

*And, for unfelt imaginations,
They often feel a world of restless cares.*

The meaning is: "In return for imaginary joys never experienced, they often suffer a world of real trouble."

179. Lines 84, 85:

*First Murd Ho! who's here?
Brak. What wouldst thou, fellow? and how cam'st thou hither?*

Qq. omit line 84; and instead of *What wouldst thou, fellow?* have *In God's name what are you?* Perhaps the reading of Ff. was owing to the act of James I. sq. often alluded to.

180. Line 86.—In Qq. the prefix for this speech is *Execu.* or *Exec.* and in line 89 below, 2 *Exc.*

181. Lines 89, 90.—Printed as verse in Qq. and Ff. Qq. instead of "Let him see our commission" have "show him our commission." If we wanted to make two verses, we might read:

"T is better to be brief than tedious;
Let him see our commission: talk no more;

but it is much preferable to leave it in prose, as printed in the text.

182. Line 94: *guiltless of the meaning*.—So Qq. Ff. have "from the meaning."

183. Line 95: *There lies the duke asleep* [Pointing to pallet], and *there the keys* [Giving him keys].—Qq. read:

Here are the keys there sits the duke asleep.

The duke was probably not sitting on a chair, but lying on a pallet bed. It is difficult to see any reason why the reading of Qq. should be preferred.

184. Line 100: *You may, sir; 't is a point of wisdom: FARE YOU WELL*.—Qq. omit the last three words, which Ff. print as a separate line.

185. Lines 105, 106: *Why, he shall never wake until the great judgment-day*.—This speech stands thus in Q. 1:

When he wakes, why foole he shall never wake till the judgment-day.

The reading of Ff. seems more in accordance with the next speech of the second murderer.

186. Line 112: *having a warrant FOR IT*.—So Qq.; Ff. omit *for it*.

187. Lines 112-114.—This passage is printed as verse in Qq. Ff.; but as verse without any measure in it; it would have been easy to have made it verse thus:

No, not to kill him, having warrant for't;
But to be damn'd for killing him, from which
No warrant can defend me.

It would seem that while writing portions of this scene the author was in hesitation whether to write them in prose or verse.

188. Line 120: *I hope my PASSIONATE humour will change*.—Many editors prefer the reading of Qq. "my holy humour." Malone thought that some actor had made the change of *holy* to *passionate* on account of the act of James I. so often alluded to. But whether *passionate* here means "compassionate" or simply "full of emotion," as it so often does in Shakespeare, it seems the more Shakespearean epithet of the two. There was nothing particularly *holy* in the second murderer's temporary feeling of remorse.

189. Line 125: [After a short pause] *How dost thou feel thyself now?*—The actor must evidently pause a short time before this speech, in order to give his comrade time to count twenty. There is a good deal of humour in this

scene. It reminds one more of the prose parts of Henry IV. than of the earlier historical plays. The speech of the second murderer on conscience (lines 138-148) is quite in Shakespeare's best style.

190. Line 151: *Take the devil in thy mind*.—Heath conjectured "*Shake off this devil in thy mind*," and Capell "*Shake the devil out of thy mind*." But though the expression in the text is a rather peculiar one, it does not need any emendation; as has been pointed out in the foot-note, the *him* in the next sentence refers to conscience and not to the devil.

191. Line 159: *Take him over the costard*.—Compare Henry V. i. 1. 231: "I will take thee a box on the ear;" and *aming* of Shrew, iii. 1. 186: "*took him such a cuff*." The word *take* is closely allied to the Gothic *tēan*, and possibly is connected with the Latin *tangere*, both of which verbs mean "to touch."

192. Line 160: *THROW him into the mainsey-butt*.—Qq. read here "*chop him*." Is not this a misprint for "*clap him*?"

193. Line 176: *Your eyes do menace me: why look you pale?*—This line is omitted in Qq.

194. Line 177.—The prefix to this line and the next line but one, where both murderers speak together, is in Qq. *am*; see below, note 268, where the prefix is *ans*.

195. Lines 194, 195:

*I charge you, as you hope to have redemption
By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins.*

The reading in the text is that of Qq.; Fl. omit line 195 altogether, and instead of "as you hope to have redemption" have "as you hope for any goodness;" both these changes having probably been made on account of the act of James I.

196. Line 200: *Erroneous vassals*.—Compare III. Henry VI. ii. 5. 90:

Erroneous, mutinous, and unnatural.

197. Lines 206-212.—These two speeches would seem to indicate that these murderers were not taken from the low or peasant class. They seem to have been acquainted with the history of the time; and were probably soldiers of fortune, or mercenaries, who must have been common enough during the civil wars; as they were also in Elizabeth's time, through the wars in the Netherlands.

198. Line 208: *Thou didst receive the SACRAMENT to fight*.—Qq. have "*holy sacrament*," but it is very doubtful if it means anything more than taking an oath, without receiving the holy communion. Compare Rich. II. v. 2. 97, and King John, v. 2. 6.

199. Line 209: *In quarrel of the house of Lancaster*.—Compare III. Henry VI. iii. 2. 6: "in quarrel of the house of York."

200. Line 218: *He sends you not to murder me for this*.—Before this line Qq. have "*Why, sirs*," in a separate line.

201. Line 222: *Q. know you yet, he doth it publicly*.—Qq. omit this line.

202. Line 227: *gallant, springing*.—Most editors hyphen these two words; but it is not so printed either in Qq. or Fl. I take the meaning not to be "growing up in beauty," as Schmidt explains it; but that there are two separate epithets, *gallant* and *springing* = "youthful." There would seem to be a tautology between *gallant* and *brave*; but *gallant* expresses the graceful qualities of courage; *brave* the more solid qualities.

203. Line 228: *That princely NOVICE*.—He means a novice in the character of a prince, not simply a youth new to the world.

204. Line 246: *Ay, MILLSTONES; as he lesson'd us to weep*.—Compare Massinger's *City Madam*, iv. 3:

Will weep when he hears how we are us'd.

i. Serp. Yes millstones.

—Works, p. 447.

204 a. Lines 251, 252:

*It cannot be; for he bewept my fortune,
And hugg'd me in his arms, and swore, with sobs.*

Q. 1 reads:

It cannot be, for when I parted with him,

He hug'd me in his arms, and swore with sobs.

The alteration was probably made on account of the metrical weakness of line 251 according to the reading of Q. 1. It is worth observing that in ll. 2. 23-25 Qq. 1 to 6 read:

And when he told me so, he wept.

And hug'd me in his arms, and kindly kist my cheek,

for which F. 1 substituted

And when my Vuckle told me so, he wept,

And pitted me, and kindly kist my cheek:

where, not only are the faults in metre of Qq. corrected, but it will be observed that the repetition of the words

And hug'd me in his arms,

is avoided by F. 1. Referring back to the first scene of this act we do not find anything in the text to warrant this description by Clarence of the farewell between him and his treacherous brother; but it is possible that these lines are intended to give a hint to the actor of Richard in his parting scene with Clarence, and that the final farewell, though no words are spoken, should be as emotional in action as it is here described.

204 b. Lines 257-260:

*HAST THOU that holy feeling in THY SOUL,
To counsel me to make my peace with God,
And ART THOU yet to THY own SOUL so blind,
That THOU WILT war with God by murdering me!*—

F. 1 gives this passage with you and your instead of thou and thine throughout, and souls instead of soul, making the appeal addressed to both the murderers, instead of to the one whom Clarence is, apparently, answering. Here the reading of Qq., which we follow, seems preferable.

204 c. Lines 261, 262:

*O, sirs, consider, HE that set you on
To do THIS deed will hate you for the deed.*

F. 1 has "*they that set you on*" and "*the deed*," for "*this deed*," which is certainly weaker than the reading of Q. 1.

204 d. Lines 263-273:

*Clar. Relent, and save your souls.
First Murd. Relent! 't is cowardly and womanish.*

Clar. *Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.—*
My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks;
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me:
A begging prince what beggar pities not?

In the text of this much disputed passage we have followed Dyce; the first part of whose note is as follows: "So the first quarto (except that in the third line of Clarence's speech it has ('Oh if thy eye'); and so the later quartos (with some very trifling variations). The folio has:

Clar. *Relent, and save your souls:*
 Which of you, if you were a Princes Sonne,
 Being pent from Liberty, as I am now,
 If two such murderers as your selves came to you,
 Would not intreat for life, as you would begge
 Were you in my distresse.
 1 *Relent!* no: 'Tis cowardly and womanish
 Cla. *Not to relent, is beastly, savage, devilish:*
My Friend, I spy some pity in thy looks:
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,
Come thou on my side, and entreat for mee,
A begging Prince, what beggar pities not.
 2 *Looke behinde you, my Lord,*"

Pope, Hammer, and Capell adopted the reading of Q. 1; but rejected the last line of the speech

A begging prince what beggar pities not?

Theobald, Knight, Collier, Verplanck, and Hudson follow F. 1. Spedding most ably advocated the retention of the reading of F. 1, simply transferring the lines *Which of you, down to distress*, from after line 268:

Relent and save your souls,
 to line 278 (Globe edn.):

A begging prince what beggar pities not?

He also put a note of interrogation after *entreat for life*, and a break (—) instead of a full stop after *distress*. Johnson had already suggested the transference of these lines, and had inserted before the line

Which of you if you were a prince's son,

the words *A begging prince* to be spoken by one of the murderers. The same punctuation was adopted, independently, by Mr. Hudson; but he retained the additional lines in the same place as they occupy in F. 1. The Cambridge edd. have a very long note on this passage, and they adopt the arrangement first suggested by Tyrwhitt, and followed by Steevens in his edition of 1793, which is as follows:

Clar. *Relent, and save your souls.*
 First Murd. *Relent! 'Tis cowardly and womanish*
 Cla. *Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.*
Which of you, if you were a prince's son,
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,
If two such murderers as your selves came to you,
Would not entreat for life?
 My friend I spy, &c.

They confess that this "involves a rather violent transposition;" but they (the Cambridge edd.) consider that the lines in F. 1 which are omitted by Q. 1 "appear to be Shakespeare's," and therefore should not be left out of the text. But it certainly seems as if the additional lines belong to another version of the speech; and the printing of the two together, which can only be accomplished by some such manipulation of the lines as suggested by Tyrwhitt, is a mistake, dramatically speaking. The lines given by Q. 1 are quite sufficient: but, at the same time, it is possible that the reading of F. 1 may be the right

one, according to one of the versions which the author had written; and that the lines beginning *Which of you*, and ending in *my distress*, were intended to be spoken by Clarence as a rapid and passionate appeal, which did not admit of the first murderer answering at once; and that the author intended the latter to pause in his answer, as if reflecting. This view is supported by the form of his answer in F. 1:

Relent? NO: 'Tis cowardly and womanish.

which seems to indicate that he was rather moved by Clarence's appeal at first, and hesitated for a moment whether to listen to him or not.

204c. Line 271: *I'll drown you in the malmsbury-but within.*—Q. 1 reads:

He chop thee in the malmsbury But, in the next room; &
 see above, note 192.

ACT II. SCENE 1.

205.—With regard to this scene it is worth noting that scene 1 of The True Tragedy of Richard III. 1594 (see Introduction, p. 98), was very probably the foundation of the present scene in Shakespeare's play. The old play of Richard III. begins with a kind of prologue between "Truth" and "Poetrie" and the Ghost of Clarence. Then comes the scene which corresponds with this one, with the stage-direction *Enter Edward the Fourth, Lord Hastings, Lord Marcus (i.e. Lord Dorset), and Elizabeth (i.e. the Princess Elizabeth). To them Richard (see Hazlitt's Shak. Lib. vol. i. pt. 2, pp. 51-54).* It will be observed that the older author is right, according to Sir Thomas More's history, in making reconciliation between Lord Hastings and Dorset, and not between Hastings and Rivers. The following passages show some faint resemblance between this scene in the old play and the corresponding scene in Shakespeare's play:

I could neuer get any *league* of amity betwixt you (*Ut supra*, p. 54).

But now through intrelle of my Prince,

I knit a *league* of amitie for euer.

—*Ut supra*, p. 56.

You peers, continue this united *league* (Rich. III. ii. 1. 2).

But now vpon aleagueance to my Prince, I vow *perfect loue*,

And true frier'ship for euer.

—*Ut supra*, p. 57.

So prosper I, as I swear *perfect loue*.

—Rich. III. ii. 1. 16.

Hast. If I Lord Hastings falsifie my league of friendship

Vowde to Lord Marcus, I craue *confusion*.

Mar. Like oath take I, and craue *confusion*.

King. *Confusion*.

—*Ut supra*, p. 57.

Lest he that is the supreme King of kings

Confound your hidden falsehood (Rich. III. ii. 1. 13, 14).

The scene in the old play, which is much longer than the corresponding one in Shakespeare's play, ends with the death of the king; and Richard, though he is present, does not speak. We have given these slight parallels from the two scenes to prove how very little use Shakespeare made of the old play. King Edward's speeches in the latter are evidently taken from the king's speeches as given in Sir Thomas More's history.

This scene is founded on a portion of that same history (pp. 12, 13), which was copied, almost word for word, by Holinshed, Hall, and the other chroniclers. It is too long to quote in its entirety; but we give some of the more

important passages. "But in his late sickness, when hee perceived his naturall strengthe soo sore enfebled, that hee dyspayred all recouerye, then hee conseyderynge the youthe of his chyldren, albeit hee nothyng lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet well foreseynge that manye harmes myghte growe by theyr debate, whyle the youth of his children shoulde lacke discrecion of themself and good counsaile, of their frendes, of whiche either party shold counsaile for their owne commoditie and rather by plesaunte aduise too wynde themselfe fauour, then by profitable advertisemente to do the children good, he called some of them before him that were at variuance, and in especyall the Lorde Marques Dorsette the Quenes sonne by her fyrste housebande, and Richard the Lorde Hastrynges, a noble man, than lord of chauncerye agayne whome the Quene specially gruded, for the great fauoure the kyng bare hym, and also for that shee thoughte hym secretlye familer with the kyng in wanton compaignie. . . . When these lordes with diuerse other of bothe the parties were comie in presence, the kyng lyfinge vpp himselfe and vnderette with pillows, as it is reported on this wyse sayd vnto them." Then follows the speech, which is probably, most of it, the invention of Sir Thomas More; for the example of Livy and Tacitus was followed by many of our old English historians.

206. Line 4: *From my Redeemer to REDEEM me hence.*—Pope substituted *recall for redeem*, an alteration which Walker also rather favours, but which seems unnecessary.

207. Line 5: *And NOW in peace my soul shall part to heaven.*—So Qq.; Ff. read "more to peace." Q. 1, Q. 2 have "part from heaven;" other old copies have the reading in the text.

208. Line 7: *Rivers and Hastings.*—Ff. have "Dorset and Rivers." According to Sir Thomas More (see above, note 205) it should be "*Dorset and Hastings.*" But as F. 1 gives the next speech to *Rivers* and the following one to *Hastings*, we must presume that the reading of Qq. is the right one.

209. Line 8: *Dissemble not your hatred, swear your love.*—This line is variously explained; the meaning seems pretty clear: "Do not cherish secret hatred in your hearts while you pretend to be reconciled; but solemnly and sincerely swear to be friends."

210. Line 18: *Madam, yourself ARE not exempt IN THIS.*—Ff. Q. 7, Q. 8 have "is not;" other old copies "are not." Qq. have "in this;" Ff. "from this."

211. Line 25: *Dorset, embrace him;*—*Hastings, love lord marquess.*—The arrangement of this line is Rowe's, which Ff. divide into two lines; omitted altogether by Qq.

212. Line 28: *And so swear I.*—Qq. add *my lord*.

213. Line 30: *WIFE's allies.*—Ff. Qq. both read *wives*.

214. Line 33: *Upon your grace, but with all duteous love.*—Qq. read very weakly: *On you or yours.* The reading of F. 1 wisely avoids the tautology.

215. Line 39: *this do I beg of GOD.*—Ff. read *heaven*,

probably on account of the act passed in the reign of James I. (See II. Henry VI. note 305.)

216. Line 40: *When I am cold in ZEAL to you or yours.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *love*.

217. Line 44: *To make the PERFECT period of this peace.*—So Qq.; Ff. read *blessed*.

218. Line 45:

And, in good time, here comes the noble duke.

Enter GLOSTER, attended by RATCLIFF.

Ff. have:

And in good time,

Heere comes Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and the Duke,

Enter Ratcliffe, and Gloster.

We give line 45 as in Qq., which have the stage-direction *Enter Gloster*. We have followed F. 1 in making Ratcliff accompany Gloster here, though he does not speak. We thoroughly agree with Spedding's observations on this passage [New Shak. Soc. Transactions, 1875 (pt. 2, p. 15)]: "Here the alteration in the stage-direction was no doubt intended. Sir Richard Ratcliffe is described by Sir T. More in his history as one 'whose service the Protector specially used in that counsel' [the murder of the Lords at Pomfret] 'and the execution of such lawless enterprises, as a man who had been long secret with him,' &c. He had an important part in the action of the play, though he scarcely speaks a dozen lines, all through. Shakspeare probably thought it advisable to bring him and his relation to Richard into prominence, that when he appears presently in the exercise of his office the spectators might know who he was. Therefore, though he is a mute in this scene, he was to come in with Richard; and 'Ratcliffe,' or 'Sir Richard Ratcliffe,' was written in the margin, meaning it to be added to the stage-direction, 'Enter Gloucester.' The printer or the transcriber (for we do not know in what shape the copy went to the press) mistook it for an insertion meant for the text, and thrust it into Buckingham's speech; where it disorders the metre and does not come in at all naturally."

219. Line 49: *BROTHER, we have done deeds of charity.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *Gloster*.

220. Line 51: *wrong-incensed.*—Not hyphenated in Qq. or Ff.; but it evidently should be regarded as one word.

221. Line 52: *A blessed labour, my most sovereign LIEGE.*—So Qq.; Ff. read *lord*.

222. Lines 55, 56:

Hold me a foe;

If I UNWITTINGLY, or in my rage.

These two lines are printed as one line in Qq. and Ff. The latter have *unwillingly*, an obvious misprint.

223. Line 58: *By any in this presence.*—So Qq.; Ff. read "To any;" the *To* having probably slipped up, by mistake, from the line below.

224. Lines 66, 67:

*Of you, Lord Rivers,—and, Lord Grey, of you,
That all without desert have frown'd on me.*

1 In Q. 1 the stage-direction is *Enter Gloucester*. In that edition, up to the end of act. iv. sc. 2, Richard is always called *Gloucester*.

We have followed, in this passage, Q. 1. In F. 1 the passage stands thus, the last line having been apparently inserted by mistake:

Of you and you, Lord *Rivers* and of *Dorset*,
That all without desert haue frown'd on me:
Of you Lord *Woodvill*, and Lord *Scales* of you.

Spedding defends the reading of F. 1, and would adhere to it on the ground that, as the line stands in Qq., Richard speaks of two persons *Rivers* and *Gray* as of *all*; whereas he ought to have said "*both* of you." But putting aside the fact that *all* is sometimes used for *both* (see II. Henry VI. note 120), surely it might be allowed to stand here as referring generally to the queen's kindred. But Spedding does not notice the fact that, virtually, Lord *Rivers*, Lord *Woodville*, and Lord *Scales* are the same person (see II. Henry VI. note 12). The stage-direction before this scene in F. 1 is:

Enter the King sicke, the Queene, Lord Marquesse Dor-

set, Riuer, Hastings, Catesby, Buckingham, Woodvill. but the last-named personage, Woodville, is not included in the Dramatis Personæ as given in our edition, or in any other. The fact of it is, probably, that Shakespeare—small blame to him—got confused as to the different members of the Woodville family. Mr. Daniel's explanation of the passage in his Introduction to Q. 1 is as follows: "This mistake in making *Rivers* three separate persons, was evidently corrected when the play was revised for the Q. version, the 'Woodville' line struck out altogether, and its form given to the first line as we find it in the Q.: 'Gray,' Dorset's younger brother, being substituted for 'Dorset' because he was, in history as in the play, associated in death with his uncle *Rivers*; for the same reason in fact which caused the substitution of 'Vaughan' for 'Dorset' in I. 3. 333" [Shakespeare-Quarto Facsimiles, No. 11 (p. xvi.)]. As Mr. Daniel points out in a foot-note, F. 1 always speaks of *brothers*, though only one brother, the above-mentioned Earl *Rivers*, is introduced. "In two places in the Q., I. iii. 67 and IV. iv. 380, *brothers* is corrected to *brother*, though in the other four places this correction has been overlooked" (*Ut supra*, foot-note).

225. Lines 69-72.—These four lines have been quoted by Milton in his *Iconoclastes*, where he begins by saying that "The poets, and some English, have been in this point so mindful of decorum, as to put never more pious words in the mouth of any person, than of a tyrant." From a dramatic point of view these four lines express, admirably, the iniquitous hypocrisy of the speaker; the first three being spoken with an affectation of radiant benevolence, which, like every other kind of sentiment, Richard, who was a born actor, could most perfectly assume; then a pause, the eyes cast down; and the last line spoken in the softest, but at the same time clearest tone.

226. Line 81: *Who knows not he is dead! who knows he is!*—This line is printed as two lines in F. 1, and given by mistake to the king; Q. 1 rightly makes *Rivers* the speaker.

227. Lines 88, 89:

*And that a winged Mercury did bear;
Some tardy cripple bore the countermand.*

The proverbial expression here alluded to is found in Drayton's *Mortimeriados*, *The Lamentable ciuill warres of Edward the Second and the Barrons*, 1596:

All newes hath wings, and with the winde doth go;
Comfort's a Cripple, and comes euer slow.

—Part II. stanza 48.

Steevens quotes the above lines, which Maloigne says are only to be found in the edition of 1619. The title *Mortimeriados* was dropped in the later editions, and the poem itself altered; but the above lines will be found in the editions of 1802 and 1805, at end of stanza 27 of Canto II.

228. Line 90: *too LAG to see him buried*.—This word is used adverbially in one other passage in Shakespeare, coupled with *of*, viz. in *Leary*, I. 2. 5, 6:

some twelve or fourteen moonshines

Lag of a brother.

229. Line 92: *Nearer in bloody thought*, BUT not in blood.—So Qq.; Ff. have *and*.

230. Line 94: Enter STANLEY.—Qq. have Enter DERBY; Ff. EARL OF DERBY. We have followed Theobald in substituting *Stanley* throughout. See note 106, above.

231. Line 96: *I PRAY THEE, peace*.—So Qq.; F. 1 has "I *prithce*."

232. Lines 99-101:

*The FORFEIT, sovereign, of my servant's life;
Who slew to-day a riotous gentleman
Lately attendant on the Duke of York.*

We cannot find any historical foundation for this incident. Johnson explains *forfeit* here as "the remission of the *forfeit*" (Var. Ed. vol. v. p. 74). But perhaps it has the same sense as in *The Merchant of Venice*, iv. 1. 37:

To have the due and *forfeit* of my bond.

The life of the servant was forfeited, and it is that life which Stanley asks as a boon.

233. Lines 102 *et seq.*—This beautiful passage was evidently suggested to Shakespeare by a short passage in Sir Thomas More's history when, speaking of Clarence's death, he says: "whose death kyng Edward (al beif he commanded it) when he wist it was done, pitiously bewailed and sorrowfully repented" (p. 8). This is slightly expanded by Holinshed (vol. ii, p. 346): "But sure it is, that although king Edward were consenting to his death; yet he much did both lament his infortunate chance, & repent his sudden execution: inasomuch that when anie person sued to him for the pardon of malefactors condemned to death, he would accomodable saie, & openlie speake: 'Oh infortunate brother, for whose life not one would make sute.' Openlie and apparantlie meaning by such words that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie he was deceiued and brought to confusion."

234. Line 108: *And shall THAT tongue give pardon to a slave!*—Qq., very weakly, read "the same tongue."

235. Line 107: *BADDE me be advis'd*.—So Qq.; Ff. have *bid*.

236. Lines 111, 112:

*Who told me, in the field of Tewkesbury,
When Oxford had me down, he rescu'd me.*

There is no historical foundation for this incident. It cannot have taken place at Tewksbury; but might, possibly, at the Battle of Barnet, where the main body of King Edward's army was commanded by himself and Clarence. Oxford made his escape after this battle, but was not present at Tewksbury at all.

237. Lines 114-117:

*Who told me, when we both lay in the field
Frozen almost to death, how he did lap me
Even in his garments, and did give himself,
All thin and naked, to the numb cold night!*

This incident would appear to be Shakespeare's own invention.

238. Lines 133, 134:

*Come, Hastings, help me to my closet.—
Ah, poor Clarence!*

Printed as one line in Qq.; Pope, who is followed by some editors, transfers the *Ah* to the end of line 133, a most wretched and unnecessary device for completing the proper number of feet in that line.

239. Line 135: *This is the FRUIT of rashness!*—So Qq.; Ff. have *fruits*.

ACT II. SCENE 2.

240. Line 1: Enter the DUCHESS OF YORK, with a Son and Daughter of CLARENCE.—Qq. have *Enter Dutches of Yorke, with Clarence children*; Ff. *Enter the old Dutchesse of Yorke, with the two children of Clarence*. There is no reason why the names of these two children should not appear (see notes 4, 36), except perhaps that as there are two other characters of the same name, viz. Edward, Prince of Wales, and Queen Margaret, it might cause some confusion. The speeches given to these children have in Q. 1 the prefix *Boy* and *Girl* respectively: in F. 1 the first speech has the prefix *Edward*, all his other speeches have the prefix *Boy*, while Margaret's speeches have the prefix *Daugh.*; we have, with most editors, adopted the prefix of *Son* to the speeches of Edward, and *Daughter* (*Daugh.*) to the speeches of Margaret.

241. Line 7: *If that our noble father BE alive.*—So Qq.; many of the various readings in Qq. are corrections of grammatical errors in F. 2.

242. Line 8: *My pretty COUSINS.*—This word is used of various degrees of relationship; here it = *grandchildren*. It is used as = *nephew* frequently, e.g. in John, iii. 8. 71; as = *niece* frequently, e.g. in Rich. II. ii. 2. 105; as = *uncle*, twice in Twelfth Night, i. 5. 131, v. 1. 313; as *brother-in-law* once in I. Henry IV. iii. 1. 51; and as *grandchild* here and below, ii. 4. 9, and Othello, i. 1. 113. It is also, as well as the abbreviation *coz*, used by princes towards other princes, or noblemen, whom they wished to distinguish by their favour; an instance of which will be found in this play, iii. 4. 37, and (as *coz*) in I. Henry IV. i. 1. 91.

243. Line 12: *Then, grandam, you conclude that he is dead.*—So Qq.; Ff. read "you conclude, (my grandam)."

244. Line 13: *The kigg MY uncle is to blame for THIS.*—So Qq.; Ff. read "myne uncle;" "for it."

245. Line 16: *And so will I.*—So Ff.; omitted in Qq.

246. Line 18: *INCAPABLE and shallow innocents.*—This word occurs in the same sense, i.e. "not able to comprehend," in Hamlet, iv. 7. 179:

As one incapable of her own distress;

though Schmidt gives the word there a different meaning, "not receptive, not susceptible," while in the passage in the text he explains it, "not equal, unable." Compare also Hamlet, iii. 2. 13: "capable of nothing but inexplicable dumb-shows and noise."

247. Line 26: *And he would love me dearly as HIS child.*—So Qq.; Ff. read "a child."

248. Line 30: *Yet from my DUGS he drew not this deceit.*—This word, which has now a coarse and vulgar significance, had no such offensive association in Shakespeare's time. Malone gives a quotation from "Constable's Sonnets, 16mo. 1694, Sixth Decade, Sonn. 4:

And on thy *dugs* the queene of love doth tell,
Her godheads power in scrowles of my desire."

—Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 78;

where it is evidently used of a woman's breast. Baret in his *Alvearie* gives "Dug breast, teat, or pap." It would not now be ever used except of the nipple, never of the whole of a woman's breast.

249. Lines 33, 39:

Duch. *What means this scene of rude impatience?*
Q. Eliz. *To make an ACT of tragic violence.*

Act has here its stago sense, evidently suggested by the scene in the line above. Compare King John, ii. 1. 376:

At our industrious scenes and acts of death.

250. Line 46: *To his new kingdom of PERFETUAL REST.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *nere-changing night*; Collier "*nere-changing light*." Keightley conjectured "*perpetual light*." In this case the reading of Qq. seems decidedly the preferable one. It is very probable that the *night* of F. 1 is a misprint for *light*.

251. Line 50: *And liv'd BY looking on his IMAGES.*—So Qq. Ff. have *with*. Compare Rape of Lucrece, 1753:

If in the child the father's *image* lies.

252. Lines 51-54.—This passage bears a remarkable resemblance to a passage in the Rape of Lucrece, 1758-1764:

Poor broken glass, I often did behold
In thy sweet semblance my old age new born;
But now that fair fresh mirror, dim and old,
Shows me a bare-bon'd death by time outworn:
O, from thy cheeks my image thou hast torn,
And shiver'd all the beauty of my glass,
That I no more can see what once I was.

253. Lines 60, 61:

*Thine being but a moiety of my MOAN—
To over-go thy PLAINTS and drown thy cries!*

In line 60 Q. 1 has "of my grief," instead of "of my moan;" but in spite of the alliteration we prefer the reading of F. 1 here. It will be observed that the whole of the next twenty or thirty lines of this scene are full of affectation, and therefore the alliteration was probably intentional. In line 61 we have adopted the reading of

the Qq. in preference to that of Ft., which have *woes* instead of *plaints*; because "To overgo thy woes," is an unpleasant jingle, much worse than any alliteration. For the use of *moan* in the general sense of *sorrow*, compare Rape of Lucrece, 797, 798:

Mingling my talk with tears, my grief with groans,
Poor wailing monuments of lasting *moans*;

also Sonnet xxx. 10, 11:

And heavily from woe to woe tell o'er
The sad account of fore-bemoaned *moan*;

and below, in this sense, line 113: "heavy mutual load of *moan*."

254. Line 69: *That I, being govern'd by the* WATERY MOON.—This has been generally explained to mean "the moon that controls the tides;" but it may refer to what is commonly called "a wet moon." Compare Mida. Night's Dream, II. 1. 103: "the moon, the *governess of floods*;" and see note 95 of that play.

255. Line 81: *Their woes are* PARCELL'D, *mine is* GENERAL.—The sense of this is: "Their woes are divided among them, that is, each has his own particular woe; but mine is *general* and includes all their particular ones." The verb, *parcel*, is only used by Shakespeare in one other passage, in Antony and Cleopatra, v. 2. 163: "*parcel* the sum of my disgraces."

256. Line 83: *I for a Clarence weep, so doth not she*.—So Qq.; F. 1 has *weepes*.

257. Lines 84, 85:

These babes for Clarence weep, AND SO DO I;
I FOR AN EDWARD WEEP, so do not they.

In F. 1 these two lines are given as one line:

These Babes for Clarence weepe, so do not they;

the intermediate part having been evidently omitted by mistake. The reading in the text is that of Q. 1. All the other Qq. have *and so do they*.

258. Lines 89-100.—These lines are omitted in Qq.

259. Line 103: *But none can CURE THEIR harms by wailing them*.—So Qq.; Ff. have "*help our harms*."

260. Line 117: *The broken rancour of your high-swoln HEARTS*.—So Qq.; Ff. have *hates*.

261. Line 118: *But lately* SPLINTER'D, *knit and join'd together*.—This seems a rather unusual use of the word *splintered* = "joined together by *spoints*," instead of "broken into small pieces." Compare Othello, II. 3. 220: "this broken joint between you and her husband entreat her to *splinter*;" and Beaumont and Fletcher's Maid in the Mill, II. 3:

those men have broken credits,
Loose and dismember'd faiths, my dear Antonio,
That *splinter*'em with vows.

—Works, vol. II. p. 585.

262. Line 121: *Forthwith from* LUDLOW *the young prince* de FET.—For this old form of the participle *fetch'd*, see Henry V. III. 1. 18:

Whose blood is *fet* from fathers of war-proof.

Compare also II. Henry VI. II. 4. 33: "*deep-fet* groans;" and *far-fet* in the same play, III. 1. 293.

204

Ludlow is situated in the southern part of Shropshire, close to the borders of Herefordshire, and near those of Wales. Edward IV. repaired the castle as a residence for his eldest son, the Prince of Wales; and there the Court of the Marches, which transacted the business of the principality, was held. The young prince held a miniature court there, and had his own council. The object of his residence was to foster the loyalty of the Welsh. It was at Ludlow Castle that, in 1634, when the Earl of Bridgewater was lord president of the Marches, Milton's *Masque of Comus* was first performed. Here also Butler wrote the first part of his *Hudibras*.

263. Line 123: *Why with some little train, my Lord of Buckingham!*—Printed in Ff. as two lines. Qq. omit from 123 to 140.

264. Line 127: *By how much the state's green and yet ungovern'd*.—F. 1 has "the estate is green," making an awkwardly long line. We have adopted Walker's very simple emendation.

265. Lines 134-139.—Capell suggested that this speech should be given to Hastings, because he was one of the Protector's party. Certainly it would come more appropriately from him. The next speech, line 140, Capell gave to Stanley. Perhaps, however, the dramatist was right in allowing one of the queen's party to consent to the arrangement proposed by Gloster, as of course they were not supposed to have any suspicion that an attack was going to be made on the prince.

266. Line 142: *Who they shall be that straight shall post to* LUDLOW.—Here, as in line 153 below, Ff., by a misprint, have *London* instead of *Ludlow*.

267. Line 143: [To Duchess] *Madam,—and you, my sister* [To Queen].—*will you go!*—This is the reading of Ff.; most editors adopt that of Qq. "*Madam,—and you my mother*." Dyce objects to the reading of Ff., on the ground that Gloster would appear to be wanting in due respect to the queen if he addressed his *mother* first; but in line 101 above he addresses the queen as *sister* [Qq. read *madam*], and in line 104 above both Qq. and Ff. have *madam, my mother*. There is no disrespect to the queen (who was not, be it remembered, queen regnant) in Gloster addressing his *mother*, who was much the older lady, first; and the use of the term *sister* seems to be intentional, Richard's object being to inspire Elizabeth with confidence by seeming to treat her with a brother's affection, and not ceremoniously as a subject.

268. Line 144: *To give your censures in this business*.—After this line Q. 1 inserts:

Ans. With all our hearts;

which speech is generally assigned by modern editors to Queen Elizabeth and Duchess as a duet. *Ans.* might have been a misprint for *Ambo*; but, grammatically speaking, it is much better that the queen and duchess should make their exit without saying anything.

269. Line 149: *To part the queen's proud kindred from the* PRINCE.—Qq. have *king*; but see lines 121, 122, and 139 above, where the young Edward is called the *prince* rightly, as he had not yet been crowned *king*. Edward IV. is referred to throughout as the young *prince*.

ACT II. SCENE 3.

270. Line 4: *All news, by'r lady; seldom comes the better.*
—A proverbial quotation to be found in Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs (p. 130), in the form, "Seldom comes a better." Read quotes from "The English Courtier and Country Gentleman, 4to, bl. l. 1598, sign. B: — as the proverb sayth, *seldome come the better.* Val. That proverb indeed is auncient, and for the most part true," &c." (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 85).

271. Line 5: *I fear, I fear't will prove a GIDDY world.* — So Ff.; Q. 1 has *troubled*; the other Qq. *troublesome*. Compare line 9 below:

Then, Masters, look to see a *troublesome* world.

272. Line 11: *Woe to that land that's govern'd by a child!*
—Compare Ecclesiastes x. 10: "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child," quoted by Buckingham, in More, p. 118.

273. Lines 12-15:

*In him there is a hope of government,
Which, in his nonage, council under him,
And, in his full and ripened years himself,
No doubt, shall then, and till then, govern well.*

Seymour would propose to read "counsel under him;" but this alteration is not necessary. The speaker is merely expressing his belief that the country may entertain the hope of getting good government from the young prince, first through his council, and then through himself. It will be noticed that in line 14 *ripened* has not the final *ed* elided. It is possible that this may be an oversight in F. 1; but even when pronounced like a dactyl it does not injure the metre.

274. Line 30: *This sickly land might SOLACE as before.* — For a similar use of this word = "to take comfort," not to give it, which is the more usual sense, compare Cymbeline, I. 6. 86, 87:

To hide me from the radiant sun and *solace*
I' the dungeon by a snuff.

275. Lines 36, 37:

*All may be well; but, if God SORT it so,
'T is more than we deserve, or I expect.*

Compare Merchant of Venice, v. 1. 132: "But God *sort* all!"

276. Line 39: *You cannot REASON ALMOST with a man.* — Compare Merchant of Venice, II. 8. 27: "I *reason'd* with a Frenchman yesterday," and King John, iv. 3. 20:

Our griefs, and not our manners, *reason* now.

Almost is generally explained here as meaning *even*. Compare John, iv. 3. 43, Coriolanus, I. 2. 24, 25, and below, III. 5. 35:

Would you imagine, or *almost* believe.

But here it seems to be used very much as we use *scarcely* = "You cannot talk *scarcely* with a man," &c.

277. Line 43: *Ensuing dangers.* — So Qq. Ff. have "Pursuing danger."

ACT II. SCENE 4.

278. Enter the ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, &c. — So Qq.; Qq. call the Archbishop *Cardinal*, and put the prefix *Car.* to all his speeches.

* 279. Lines 1, 2:

*Last night, I hear, they rested at Northampton;
At Stony-Stratford they do tie to-night.*

We have adopted Capell's reading here. Q. 1 reads (which other Qq. substantially follow):

Last night I hear they lay at Northampton.
At Stonstratford will they be to-night.

F. 1 reads (so other Ff.):

Last night I heard they lay at Stony Stratford,
And at Northampton they do rest to night.

There has been much discussion over these two lines. It is evident that they were altered in F. 1 for the sake of the metre; for, though, accidentally, the movements of the prince and his party were thus made to correspond with the facts of history, one cannot believe that the alteration was made with that motive. What really took place was that the prince and his party had got from Ludlow as far as Stony Stratford, which is one stage nearer London on the road to London, than Northampton, when Gloucester and Buckingham with their party came to Northampton the same night as the prince, with Lord Grey and Sir Thomas Vaughan, reached Stony Stratford. Lord Rivers and his attendants had remained at Northampton, intending to follow the king on the morrow; but Gloster surrounded the inn where they lay, and would not allow any one to pass out of the town towards Stony Stratford without his permission. The next morning Gloster and Buckingham, with Lord Rivers, went to Stony Stratford, having put Lord Rivers "in ward." Having arrived at Stony Stratford, they immediately arrested Lord Richard Grey and Sir Thomas Vaughan in the king's presence, and brought the king back to Northampton. It is impossible the archbishop should have known of these events; and therefore he would not represent the prince and his party as going back one stage on their journey, especially as, in the next line, he says they would be in London in two days. Capell's emendation of the text seems the most preferable. Unless we pronounce Northampton, Northampton, the line as it stands in Qq. will not scan at all.

280. Line 13: "Small herbs have grace, great weeds do grow apace." — This is an expansion of the well-known proverb "Ill weeds grow apace" (see Bohn's Handbook of Proverbs, p. 107). There was a corresponding proverb both in French and Italian.

281. Line 35: *A PARLOUS boy.* — Qq. have *perilous*, of which *parlous* is only a popular corruption. It is often used in a rather contemptuous sense.

282. Line 36: *Good madam, be not angry with the child.* — Given by Qq. to Cardinal; Ff. have the prefix *Dut.* for Duchess, which we see no reason to alter.

283. Line 37: *Pitchers have ears.* — Compare Taming of Shrew, iv. 4. 52, where the same expression occurs.

284. Line 38: *Here comes a messenger. What news! —* So Ff.; Qq. have (substantially)

Here comes your sonne, Lo: M. Dorset.
What newes Lo: Marquest

and instead of *Enter a Messenger* above, have *Enter Dorset*; but the alteration of F. 1 is a very sensible one,

as the speeches assigned to *Dorset* could have been given by a *messenger*, and are evidently supposed to come from an inferior and not from an equal.

285. Lines 42, 43:

*Lord Rivers and Lord Grey are sent to Pomfret,
With them Sir Thomas Vaughan, prisoners.*

According to Sir Thomas More (p. 28) Gloucester "sent the lord Rivers and the Lorde Richarde with Sir Thomas Vaughan into the Northe countrey into diuers places to prison, and afterward al to Pomfrait, where they were in conclusion beheaded." The text is printed as in Qq.; Ff. print as three lines:

Lord Rivers, and Grey,
Are sent to Pomfret, and with them
Sir Thomas Vaughan, Prisoners.

286. Line 45: Q. Eliz. *For what offence?*—Qq. give this line to Cardinal; Ff. to Archbishop; but setting aside the fact that both Qq. and Ff. have "my gracious lady" in line 48 below, the epithet *gracious* has been applied to the queen above (line 21), and therefore the supposition that *lady* was a misprint in F. 1 for *lord* can hardly be entertained.

287. Lines 51, 52:

*Insulting tyranny begins to JET
Upon the innocent and aweless throne.*

Ff. have *jut*. Compare Titus Andronicus (ii. 1. 64), "to *jet* upon a prince's right" (Ff. read *set*). (See Comedy of Errors, note 35.) There is no instance I can find of *jut* upon used in this sense; but the words *jet* and *jut* are both derived from the same source, the French *jeter*. In fact, Skeat considers *jut* merely a corruption of *jet*, so that practically they may be said to be the same; and it merely comes to the question which form of the word is more commonly used in this sense, namely, "to strut with a conceited air."

288. Line 61: *Clean over-blown*.—For this sense of *clean* see Rich. II. iii. 1. 10; and for *over-blown*, see same play, iii. 2. 190.

289. Line 66: *we will to SANCTUARY*.—This was the building within the precincts of the Abbey, and stood where Westminster Hospital now stands. Some think all the precincts were included in the term *sanctuary*. It retained its privilege of protecting criminals and debtors till 1632. (See III. Henry VI. note 264.) Queen Elizabeth sought refuge in the *sanctuary* at Westminster in 1470, and Edward V. was born there.

ACT III. SCENE 1.

290. Line 16: *God keep me from false friends! but they were none*.—We have marked this line to be spoken *Aside*, in accordance with the conjecture of the Cambridge edd.

291. Line 24: *in good time*.—This is equivalent to the French *à propos*.

292. Line 30: *Expect him here; but if she be obdurate*.—Qq. Ff. have "*Anon* expect him." We have omitted the *anon*, following Stevens.

293. Line 44: *senseless-obstinate*.—Not hyphenated in Qq.

Ff. Staunton suggests *senseless-obstinate*; but *senseless* is used in the sense of "unreasonable." Compare Comedy of Errors, iv. 4. 25, and Taming of the Shrew, i. 2. 37.

294. Line 45: *Too ceremonious and traditional*; i.e. "Too much attached to forms and ceremonies, and to tradition."

295. Line 46: *Weigh it but with THE GROSSNESS OF THIS AGE*.—This phrase seems to mean that the age was one of unusual violence; a time for firm and vigorous action rather than servile adherence to law and form.

296. Line 52: *Therefore, in mine opinion, cannot have it*.—Qq. F. 1 have "*And therefore*;" F. 2 rightly omits *And*.

297. Line 56: *But sanctuary-children NE'ER t'ill now*.—Qq. have "*never till now*."

298. Line 63: *Where it SEEMS best unto your royal self*.—So Q. 1, Q. 2; the other Qq. have *thinkst*; Ff. *think'st*. If the latter reading *thinkst* is to be retained in the text, then it must be omitted, and the word printed *thinks't* = *thinks it*; for the verb would be then used impersonally, as in Hamlet, v. 2. 63:

Does it not, *thinks't* thee, stand me now upon,

where many editors wrongly print *think'st*, as if it were contracted from *thinkest*. Compare the common use of *methinks*, i.e. *me thinks* (it).

299. Line 68: *I do not like the Tower of ANY place; i.e. "of all places"*.—Compare II. Henry VI. i. 3. 167: "most unmeet of any man."

300. Lines 70, 71:

*He did, my GRACIOUS lord, begin that place;
Which, since, succeeding ages have RE-EDIFIED.*

The latter line is a very inharmonious one, and would be a much better one if, instead of *re-edified*, we read *re-built*. There is an air of pedantry about *re-edified* which is alien to Shakespeare's usual style. The word only occurs in one other passage, in Titus Andronicus, i. 1. 351: which I have sumptuously *re-edified*.

Hanmer also proposes *re-built*. Stevens omitted *gracious* in the line above, commencing line 71 with *Succeeding*. This is a great improvement, from the metrical point of view; but the objection to omitting *gracious* is that Buckingham never addresses the prince, who was the titular king, simply as *my lord*. Gloster once addresses him as such, in line 17; but then Gloster was a prince of the blood royal, and had the right so to do.

301. Line 77: *As 't were RETAIL'D to all posterity*.—Minshew (edn. 1617) gives "*to Retail or Retel* = renumerate." The word is generally derived from the old French *retailer* = to cut into small pieces. Tooke says: "To sell by tale is to sell by numeration, not by weight or measure, but by the number told; and that *retail* means—*told over again*" (see Richardson, *sub voce*). Compare iv. 4. 335.

302. Line 78: *Even to the general ALL-ending day*.—So Q. 1; all the rest of the old copies read *ending day*, which makes a very bad line. The omission of *all* very likely arose from the transcriber mistaking it for the final syllable of *general*, which is spelt in Qq. Ff. *generall*.

303. Line 79: *So wise so young, they say, do ne'er live long.*—This passage is founded on the Latin proverb: *Is cadet ante ævum qui ægit ante diem* (Bohn's Dict. of Latin Quotations, p. 188). There are two similar Latin proverbs: *Cito maturum cito putridum* (ut supra, p. 51), and a sentence from Cicero which Gloucester might have quoted very appropriately: *Odī puerulos proceros ingenio* (ut supra, p. 304). Reed quotes a very apposite passage from Bright's Treatise on Melancholy, 1586, p. 52, where he speaks of some children "having after a sorte attained that by disease, which other have by course of yeares: whereon I take it, the proverb ariseth, that they be of short life who are of wit so pregnant" (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 98).

304. Line 81: *I say, without characters, fame lives long.*—It is necessary, to explain this quibble of Gloucester's, otherwise line 83 below has no force. Quibbling on the double sense of *characters*, i.e. written characters and peculiar dispositions, his remark would refer, first, as was obvious to all, to *fame*, such as Julius Caesar's, living long without any written record; secondly, in his own mind, it applies to the Prince, who, if he had had less character and individuality, might have been allowed to live long.

305. Line 82: *Thus, like the formal VICE, Iniquity.*—In spite of the various emendations in the text that have been proposed in this line, there can be little doubt that the old copies, which all coincide, are correct; and that by the *Vice*, is meant the *Vice*, or low comedian of the old Moralities or Interludes, and so called because he generally figured among the Dramatis Personæ as one of the *Vices*, or bad qualities of human nature. Originally the *Vice* was, probably, an inferior Devil; and it would seem that the comic element was not introduced at all into many of the old Mysteries. In the Eight Specimen Coventry Mysteries, given by Hone in his Ancient Mysteries Described (edn. 1823), there is no trace of any such character as the *Vice*. In Mystery VI., the Visit of Mary to Elizabeth (p. 53), there is, at the conclusion of the play, a comic address given by one of the performers, but whether by anyone who had taken part in the Mysteries is very doubtful. The address served to usher in the pageant which followed the Mystery, and will be found on pp. 57, 58 of Hone's book. In the next Mystery, The Trial of Mary and Joseph, Two Detractors, or Slandrers, seem to have some comic element in them. In the Interlude of the Four Elements, one of the earliest printed Interludes in the English language, there does not seem to be any *Vice*, though among the names of the players are Sensual Appetite, and Ignorance. Sensual Appetite perhaps fulfilled this rôle, as he is treated throughout from rather a comic point of view. In the illustrated list of the characters prefixed to Hickscorner, Free Will is not represented in such a dress as we should expect the *Vice* to wear, though he seems to have been the comic character of the piece. In Lusty Juventus, Hypocrisy is the *Vice*. In the players' names prefixed to Jack Juggeler that character is described as *The vice*; and, in the Nice Wanton, the name of the *Vice* was Iniquity. In the Disobedient Child, Satan is introduced, but unattended by the *Vice*. He has only one speech, and it does not seem

clear whether he, or the servant, was intended to be the comic character. In the Trial of Treasure, among the names of the players is Inclination the *Vice*; and it is to be noted that he is the only one of the players who does not represent more than one character. The Trial of Treasure was printed in 1567. In Like Will To Like, the first edition of which was printed in 1568, among the names of the players is Nicol Newfangle, the *Vice*. Baret in his Alvearie, 1573, gives under *Vice*, "a *Vice* in the play." We may conclude that the word did not come into general use, in this sense, till about the middle of the sixteenth century. Ben Jonson in The Devil is an Ass (l. 1) gives some very interesting particulars of the *Vice*. The play opens with the dialogue between Satan and Pug, described as the latter's Devil. Pug asks his chief:

And lend me but a *Vice*, to carry with me.

—Works, vol. v. p. 9.

When asked what kind he would have, he answers:

Fraud,

Or Covetousness, or lady Vanity,
Or old Iniquity.

Iniquity, who is described as the *Vice*, immediately comes on, and promises Pug to teach him (p. 10):

to cheat, child, to cog, lie and swagger,

And ever and anon to be drawing forth thy dagger.

Pug exclaims (p. 11): "how nimble he is!" Satan observes (p. 13):

fifty years ago, and six,

When every great man had his *Vice* stand by him,
In his long coat, shaking his wooden dagger.

From this it is evident that the *Vice* resembled the more familiar harlequin.

As to *formal*, it would seem that it does not here mean "precise," "pedantic," or, as it is generally explained, "conventional," because the *Vice* was *conventional* in his dress, demeanour, and his jokes; but it would seem rather to have the sense of "common," "ordinary," as it is used in Ant. and Cleo. ii. 5. 40, 41:

Thou shouldst come like a Fury crown'd with snakes,
Not like a *formal* man.

Heath, in his work on the text of Shakespeare (p. 296), says: "a *formal* man, according to the poet, is one who performs all the functions proper and peculiar to a man;" and he quotes a passage in the Comedy of Errors, v. 1. 108-109:

Till I have us'd the approved means I have,
With wholesome syrups, drugs and holy prayers,
To make of him a *formal* man again;

where we have explained *formal*, in a foot-note, as meaning "reasonable." Compare also Twelfth Night, ii. 5. 128: "this is evident to any *formal* capacity."

306. Line 87: *Death makes no conquest of THIS conqueror.*—So Q. 1; all the rest of the old copies have *his*.

307. Line 96: *how fares our NOBLE brother!*—Q. 1, Q 2 have "loving brother;" all the other old copies "noble brother."

308. Line 99: *Too late he died that might have kept that title.*—Compare Rape of Lucrece, lines 1800, 1801:

I did give that life

Which she too early and too late hath spill'd.

See also III. Henry VI. note 171.

309. Line 106: *cousin*.—See above, note 242.

310. Line 110: *I pray you, uncle, give me this*—[playing with Gloster's swordbelt—then touching the dagger] *this dagger*.—Qq. Ff. read:

I pray you, uncle, give me this dagger.

Various emendations have been made in order to complete the metre. Hammer reads "uncle *then*;" Keightley "*gentle* uncle;" Warburton "*this your dagger*." The objection is, not to the line being imperfect—we have an imperfect line just below (line 112)—but to its being un-rhythmical. The emendation, which we have ventured to print, is a very simple one. It is probable that, if our conjecture is right, the transcriber might have overlooked the repetition of *this*. It is pretty certain, whether we insert the word *this* or not, that the speaker was intended to pause before naming his request; and it would seem, from the context, that Gloster had no idea of what the little prince was going to ask for, and that he was rather relieved when he found that his request was a comparatively trifling one.

311. Lines 113, 114:

*Of my kind uncle, that I know will give 't,
Being but a toy, which is no grief to give.*

This is Lettsom's conjecture. Modern editors usually print these lines:

Of my kind uncle, that I know will give;
And being but a toy, which is no grief to give;

which is substantially the reading of Qq. F. 1, except that they have a comma after *give*. F. 2, F. 3, F. 4 omit *but*, and instead of *which* is read *it is*. If we adhere to the reading of the old copies, the construction must be elliptical, *being* = "*it being*." I would propose to read:

Of my kind uncle who will give 't, I know.

312. Line 116: *A greater gift!—O, that's the sword to it*.—A dagger was part of the regular equipment of a knight, and was worn in the sword-belt on the opposite side to the sword. Civilians wore them stuck in their purses or pouches. The daggers varied considerably in length, the longest being a three-sided dagger, called a *misericorde*, used to give the *coup de grâce* to a fallen foe.

313. Line 121: *I weigh it lightly, were it heavier*.—Hammer's emendation, *I'd weigh it lightly*, is well worthy consideration. As the text now stands, we must take it that York means "If it were heavier I should value it lightly, as I do anything belonging to you."

314. Line 122: *What, would you have my weapon, little lord?*—Note the emphasis; Gloster asks contemptuously: "Would you, child as you are, have my weapon, the sword with which I have done such mighty deeds."

315. Line 123: *I would, that I might thank you as—you call me*.—So Walker; but I had marked it independently, before seeing his conjecture. Q. 3 has *as as*; F. 1 *as, as*.

316. Lines 130, 131:

*Because that I am little, like an ape,
He thinks that you should bear me on your shoulders.*

There has been some difference of opinion, among the

commentators, as to what the author exactly means here; whether his only intention is to refer to his uncle's deformity; or, as Douce suggests, to the fact that an ape was often the companion of the fool; as an instance of which he refers to a picture by Holbein of Henry VIII. and some of his family, in which Will Sommers is represented as with a monkey clinging to his neck. "Be that as it may, there is no doubt that, at this time, monkeys, or apes, were very common domestic pets; and it is a well-known fact that a monkey will always sit on the back of another animal, or on the shoulder of a man, if he can get the chance. Richard's deformity was said really to consist in the fact, not that he was humpbacked, but that he had one shoulder higher than the other; though Shakespeare undoubtedly intends to exaggerate this deformity. He makes Richard say (III. Henry VI. iii.^o 2. 157, 158) that Nature had been bribed

To make an envious mountain on my back,
Where sits deformity to mock my body.

a passage in which, very probably, some idea of a monkey sitting on his shoulder was in the speaker's mind.

317. Line 132: *With what a SHARP PROVIDED wit he reasons!*—These words are not hyphenated in Qq. Ff., and we see no reason for doing so. *Provided* is probably an independent epithet. It may either mean *provided*, i.e. readily furnished, or a wit which is *provided*; that is to say, equipped for every emergency.

318. Line 136: *My lord, will't please You pass along?*—Note the short line which expresses Gloucester's vexation. See again below, line 143.

319. Line 141: *My lord protector NEEDS will have it so*.—So Q. 1; F. 1 and other old copies omit *needs*.

320. Lines 157, 158:

*Well, let them rest.—Come hither, Catesby,
Thou'rt sworn as DEEP to effect what we intend.*

These two lines have been arranged variously by different commentators. Qq. and Ff. read *deeply*. Pope omitted *hither* and ended the first line at *sworn*. Dyce reads *thou art*, putting *thou* into the first line, and suggests *deep* instead of *deeply*, but does not adopt it. We have no hesitation in printing *deep*. It is used adverbially by Shakespeare in many passages, e.g. in *Measure for Measure*, v. 1. 480: "so *deep* sticks it in my penitent heart." The Cambridge edd. suggest *Thou'rt sworn* should be printed as a separate line; but we prefer to print the two lines as we have done in the text, because the first is an instance of the middle pause (see Richard II. note 170), and the rhythm is in no way injured by the want of one syllable.

321. Line 162: *To make Lord William Hastings of our mind*.—Qq. Ff. have *William Lord Hastings*, making so very awkward a line that we have, with some reluctance, adopted Pope's emendation. Compare line 181 below, where Gloster calls Hastings *Lord William*.

322. Lines 169, 170:

*Well, then, no more but this: go, gentle Catesby,
And, as it were far off, sound thou Lord Hastings,
Arranged as by Pope; as three lines in Ff. ending—this:—*

of,—Hastings,—of which it is difficult to make any rhythmic verse at all.

323. Line 170.—See Sir Thomas More (p. 69): "For which cause he moued Catesby to proue wyth some words cast out a *farie* of, whither he could thinke it possible to winne the Lord Hasting into their parte," and (p. 67) where Hastings addresses Stanley: "My Lord (quod the lord Hastings) on my life neuer doute you. For while one man is there which is neuer thence, neuer can there be thinge ones mynded that should sownde amisse toward me, but it should be in mine eares ere it were well oute of their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby, which was of his nere secret counsaill, and whome he veri familiarly used, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so special trust, rekeni^g hymself to no man so life, sith the well wist there was no man to him so much beholden as was this Catesby, which was a man wel lerned in the lawes of this lande, and by the special fauour of the lorde chamberlen, in good authoritie and much rule bare in al the county of Isester where the Lorde Chamberlens power chiefly laye."

324. Line 179: *For we to-morrow hold divided councils.*—See Sir Thomas More (p. 60): "But the protectour and the duke, after that, that they had set the lord Cardinall . . . to commune and deuise about the coronacion in one place: as fast were they in an other place contruyng the contrary, and to make the protectour kyng;" and (p. 67) Stanley warns Hastings: "For while we (quod he) talke of one matter in the one place, little wote we wherof they talk in the tother place."

325. Line 190: *Crosby Place*; very generally printed *Crosby-place*. Ff. have *Crosby House*. In Sir Thomas More it is *Crosbies place*. See i. 2. 212 *supra*, and note 95 thereon.

326. Line 193: *Chop off his head*,—SOMETHING WE WILL DETERMINE.—Qq. read:

Chop off his head, *man; somewhat we will do;*

which many editors prefer. We have retained the reading of Ff.; it is not necessary to take *determine* here as = to put an end to. It seems to us that the reading of Qq. is more commonplace than that of Ff. Gloster answers with characteristic promptitude, *Chop off his head*, so getting rid of Hastings; but the next sentence, *something we will determine*, is spoken in a more serious manner; the meaning being, "having got rid of him we will determine on some plan of action."

327. Line 195: *Th' earldom of Hereford, and the moveables*.—See note 476. Compare Richard II. ii. 1. 161:

The plate, coin, revenues, and moveables.

328. Line 200: *complots*.—This word occurs with the accent on the last syllable, just above, line 192. It is only used by Shakespeare in four other places, viz. in II. Henry VI. iii. i. 147:

I know their *complot* is to have my life;

the accent being on the first syllable; and three times in Titus Andronicus, in two of which, ii. 3. 266, v. 2. 147, the accent is on the first syllable, and in v. i. 65 on the second.

ACT III. SCENE 2.

329.—To give some idea of the difficulties to be met in editing this play, this scene—which is a short scene, and a fair specimen of the condition of the text—contains, altogether, 124 lines, in which (including stage-directions) there are 64 points of difference between Q. 1 and F. 1. We give some of the less important ones; the more important will be noticed, in their place, in the notes:—

Line 1: Q. 1, *What, ho!* F. 1, *My lord.*

Line 2: Q. 1, *Who knocks at the door?* F. 1 omits *at the door.*

Line 3: Q. 1, *A messenger from the Lord Stanley.* F. 1, *One from Lord Stanley.*

Line 4: Q. 1, *What's o'clock?* F. 1, *What is't o'clock?*

Line 6: Q. 1, *thy master.* F. 1, *my lord Stanley.*

Line 7: Q. 1, *should seem.* F. 1, *appears.*

Line 8: Q. 1, *to your noble lordship.* F. 1, *to your noble selfe.*

Line 9: Q. 1, *And then.* F. 1, *What then?*

Line 11: Q. 1, *had raste his helme.* F. 1, *raised off.*

Line 12: Q. 1, *held.* F. 1, *kept.*

Line 16: Q. 1, *presently you will.* F. 1, *you will presently.*

Line 28: Q. 1, *the boar pursues us.* F. 1 omits *us.*

Line 34:

Q. 1, *My gracious lord I'll tell him what you say.*

F. 1, *I'll go, my lord, and tell him what you say.*

Line 39: Q. 1, *And I believe it will never stand upright.* F. 1 omits *it* (for the sake of the metre).

Line 44: Q. 1, *Ere I will.* F. 1, *Before Ile.*

Line 46: Q. 1, *Upon my life my lord.* F. 1, *ay, on my life* (omitting *my lord*)

Line 52: Q. 1, *mine enemies.* F. 1, *my adversaries.*

Line 53: Q. 1, *they who.* F. 1, *they which.*

Line 62: Q. 1, *elder.* F. 1, *older.*

Line 68: Q. 1, *who think.* F. 1, *that think.*

Line 69: Q. 1, *as thou knowest.* F. 1, *as thou know'st* (for sake of metre).

Line 81: Q. 1, *life.* F. 1, *days* (to avoid repetition of *life*).

Line 86: Q. 1, *their states was sure.* F. 1, *their states were sure.*

Line 88: Q. 1, *the day overcast.* F. 1, *the day o're-cast* (for the sake of the metre).

Line 89: Q. 1, *sudden scab of rancour.* F. 1, *sudden stab of rancour.* (Q. 1 evident misprint.)

Line 96: Q. 1, *let us away.* F. 1, *let's away.*

Line 99: Q. 1, *that it please your Lo.* F. 1, *that your lordship please.*

Line 101: Q. 1, *I met thee.* F. 1, *thou met'st me.*

Line 106: Q. 1, *than ever I was.* F. 1, *than ere I was* (for the sake of the metre).

Line 113: Q. 1, *Sabaoth.* F. 1, *Sabbath.*

Line 118: Q. 1, *Those men.* F. 1, *the men.*

Line 122: Q. 1, *'Tis like enough.* F. 1, *Nay, like enough.*

Line 128: Q. 1, *knowest.* F. 1, *know'st* (for the sake of the metre).

The differences between the stage-directions in Q. 1 and F. 1 are as follows:—

At the beginning of the scene:

Q. 1, Enter a messenger to Lo: Hastings.

F. 1, Enter a messenger to the doors of Hastings.

Line 3: Q. 1, Enter Lord Hastings; which F. 1 gives after line 5.

Line 34: Exit; omitted by Q. 1.

Line 96: Q. 1, Enter Hastings a Pursuivant. F. 1 omits Hastings.

Line 97: Exit Lord Stanley and Catesby. Omitted by Q. 1.

Line 108: Q. 1, He gives him his purse. F. 1, He throws him his purse.

Line 109: Exit Pursuivant. Omitted by Q. 1.

Line 113: He whispers in his ear. Omitted in F. 1.

With the exception of the last important stage-direction, the above instances show that Q. 1 is not so complete in its stage-directions as F. 1; and it may be doubted if Q. 1 was really taken from the authorized MS. belonging to the theatre at that time.

330. Line 6: *Cannot thy master sleep these tedious nights?*—So Q. 1; which seems preferable to the reading of F. 1, "*Cannot my lord Stanley?*" on metrical grounds. If we adopt the reading of F. 1 we must elide *Cannot* into *Can't*. It looks very much as if the passage were intended to be prose.

331. Lines 10, 11:

*Then certifies your lordship, that this night
He dreamt the boar had RASED OFF his helm.*

There seems to be some difficulty about the real meaning of *rased* in this passage. Qq. (see note 329) have not *rased* off, but simply *rased* (*ruste*). Sir Thomas More (p. 74) thus refers to this dream, "in which him thoughte that a boar with his tuskes so *rased* them both bi the heddes." Shakespeare uses the verb *to raze* in the ordinary sense of "to erase" in several places, e.g. in Richard II. ii. 3. 75:

To raze one title of your honour out;

and, without the preposition, in Measure for Measure, i. 2. 11, and Sonnet xxv. 11. It is used in the sense of "to destroy," "to level with the ground," in I. Henry VI. ii. 3. 65:

Raseth your cities, and subverts your towns

It seems to us that the word used in this passage in the text has nothing to do with the word *raze*=to erase. Steevens, in his note, says, "This term *rased* or *rashed*, is always given to describe the violence inflicted by a boar" (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 110); and he quotes a passage from Lear, iii. 7. 58:

In his anointed flesh /ash boarish fangs,

in which, however, the reading of F. 1 is *stick*. If we accept the reading of Qq. in that passage, it would be the only other passage in Shakespeare in which *rash*, or *rase*, was used in this sense. But Nares gives, under the word *rash*, a quotation from Warner's Albion's England (vil. c. 36), the same as given by Steevens:

Hal cur, avant, the boar so rashe thy hide;

and from the Ballad of Launcelot:

*They buckled them together so,
Like unto wild boares rashing;*

where Dr. Percy explains the word as "rending, like the wild boar with his tusks" (Reliques, bk. i. p. 104). In both these passages the word seems to mean "tearing with the tusks," a meaning which would suit the passage in our text as well as the passage in Sir Thomas More. We find the word used, with the preposition *by*, by Daniel, in a stage-direction in Hymen's Triumph (iv. 4), "[He] *rashes* Clarindo, and *rashes off* his Garland" (Works, vol. i. p. 139). Baret, in his Alvearie, gives no such form as *rash*; but gives besides, "to *Rase* and crosse out a thing written," "to *rase*, to overthrow, or cast downe to the ground, to destroy." Palgrave has "*I rashed* a thing from one, I take it from hym hastily. *Je arache*, prim. conj. He *rashed* it out of my handes . . . ; il *larrachq* hors de mes mayns." Skeat gives the word as being derived from the old French *esracer*, modern French *arracher*. Claucer uses *arace* in The Clerkes Tale, line 897q:

The children from hire arm they gan arrace.

—Vol. ii. p. 239.

The meaning there is evidently "to tear away." From the above instances it is clear that "to *rase*" or "to *rash*" is quite a different word from "to *rase*" or "to *rase*"=to erase.

332. Lines 12-14.—See above, note 324.

333. Lines 22-24:

*And at the other is my good friend Catesby;
Where nothing can proceed that toucheth us
Whereof I shall not have intelligence.*

Compare the passage in Sir Thomas More's history (p. 67) given in note 323 above.

334. Line 40: *Till Richard WEAR THE GARLAND of the realm.*—Compare II. Henry IV. in King Henry's speech when addressing his son, iv. 5. 202:

So thou the garland wear'st successively.

Sir Thomas More says: "In whose time and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the *garland*, keeping it, lesing and winning againe, it hath cost more englishe blood then hath twice the winning of Fraunce" (p. 107).

335. Line 55: *God knows I will not do it to THE DEATH.*—Compare Much Ado, i. 3. 71, 72: "You are both sure, and will assist me? Con. *To the death*, my lord;" and Love's Labour's Lost, v. 2. 146:

No, to the death, we will not move a foot.

336. Line 58: *That they who brought me IN my master's hate.*—For this sense of *in*, compare Much Ado, ii. 3. 81: "One woman shall not come in my grace;" and in this play, above, i. 3. 89:

Falsely to draw me in these vile suspects.

337. Lines 60, 61:

*Well, Catesby, ere a fortnight make me older,
I'll send some packing that yet think not on't.*

In Q. 1 these are printed as three lines, thus:

*I tell thee Catesby. Cat. What my Lord?
Hast. Ere a fortnight make me elder,
He send some packing, that yet thinke not on it.*

It is difficult to see why some editors should have adopted the reading of Q. 1 here. The interpolated speech of

Catesby is quite unnecessary. Hastings is addressing Catesby all through the scene. If he had been addressing anyone else, or if these lines had referred to some totally different subject, the interpolation of Q. 1 would have some meaning; as it is, it only spoils the rhythm.

330. Line 72: *For they account his head upon the bridge.*—Traitors' heads were, formerly, exposed on a tower which stood at the north end of the drawbridge in the middle of London Bridge; but after 1576, when this tower was taken down, they were removed to the gate at the Southwark end of the bridge on the Surrey side. In the picture of Old London Bridge in 1598 prefixed to Harrison's Description of England (Pt. 3, Reprint, New Shak. Soc., Series 6, No. 8), the heads are fixed on the top of iron spike over the Southwark Gate. Hentzner, in his account of London, says: "On the South, is a bridge of stone, 800 feet in length, of wonderful work; it is supported upon 20 piers of square stone, 60 feet high, and 30 broad, joined by arches of about 20 feet diameter. The whole is covered on each side with houses, so disposed, as to have the appearance of a continued street, not at all of a bridge. Upon this is built a tower, on whose top the heads of such as have been executed for high treason, are placed upon iron spikes: We counted above 30" (Reprint, 1757, pp. 4, 5).

339. Line 76: *My lord, good morrow;—good morrow, Catesby.*—This is an instance of the "middle pause." See Richard II. note 170. Pope reads *and*; but the *and* is weak; the line is much better as it stands.

340. Line 77: *by the holy rood.*—*Rood* originally seems to have meant a cross. It is from the A. Sax. *róð*, "a rod," or "pole," which came to mean "a gallows," "a cross." So *rood* means a measure of land which is measured with a rod or pole. It is evident that the word at first only meant "a cross" as an instrument of capital punishment; and that it came afterwards to be used of the holy cross, and so to mean "a crucifix." Gower in his Confessio Amantis, bk. ii. uses it:

Whiche died vpon the roode tre,

much as we say "gallows tree." Fabyan has (p. 249): "and ye crucifix with the image of our lady, also stonkyng vpon the roode lyste, was lykewyse ouerthrowen." The *holy rood* undoubtedly means the cross on which our Saviour died, and was especially applied to the crucifix which stood on the arch or beam which divides the chancel from the rest of the church, and was called the *rood arch* or *rood beam*.

341. Lines 79, 80:

My lord,

I hold my life as dear as YOU DO yours.

Printed as one line in Qq.; Ff. omit *you do*. There is no particular reason why those words should not be omitted. The sentence without them is not more elliptical than many to be found in Shakespeare.

342. Line 82: *Was it MORE precious to me THAN 'T IS now.*—This is Capell's reading. Qq. have *then it is*; Ff. have "so precious to me as 't is now. The only reason for preferring the reading of Qq. (substantially) is that in line 84, just below, we have

I would be so triumphant as I am.

343. Lines 91-93:

What, shall we toward the Tower! THE DAY IS SPENT.

Hast. Come, come, have with you.—WOT you WHAT, my lord!

To-day the lords you talk of are beheaded.

The reading in the text is that of Ff. with the exception that line 92 is in two lines. Q. 1 reads:

But come my Lo: shall we to the tower?

Hast. I go: but stay, heare you not the newes,

This day those men you talkt of, are beheaded.

The reading of neither version is satisfactory. In Q. 1 lines 91 and 92 are both imperfect and unrhythmical; and the objection to *But come, my lord*, is that the same words occur again, in line 96 below. It was in order to complete the metre that the alteration in Ff. was probably made as it stands in the text. But, according to line 5, *Upon the stroke of four*, the scene commences at 4 o'clock in the morning; and although it was a summer morning in June, it is rather an extreme instance of dramatic license to talk about the day being spent; but, probably, this expression does not mean that the day was ended, or even that it was far advanced; but that it was advancing, i.e. "getting on." Compare the following passage in Venus and Adonis, 717-720:

"The night is spent." "Why, what of that?" quoth she.

"I am," quoth he, "expected of my friends:

And now 't is dark, and going I shall fall."

"In night," quoth she, "desire sees best of all."

It is evident that in this passage *night is spent* does not mean night is ended, or even that it is ending, because from the context it was still dark. On the other hand, the jingle of "*Wot you what*" is objectionable.

344. Line 96: Enter a Pursuivant.—A *pursuivant* was an attendant attached to the heralds. We have the word used in a figurative sense, I. Henry VI. ii. 5, 6:

And these grey locks, the *pursuivants* of death;

that is to say, "the heralds of death." Though *pursuivant* seems very generally to have been used as a messenger, or inferior kind of herald, it is also used for an officer of justice; compare II. Henry VI. i. 3, 37: "send for his master with a *pursuivant* presently."

This scene is founded upon the following passage from More (pp. 76, 77): "Upon the very tower wharfe so nere the place where his hed was of so sone after, there met he with one Hastings a pursenant of his own name. And of their meting in that place, he was put in remembrance of an other time, in which it had happened them before, to mete in like maner together in the same place. At which other tyme the lord Chamberleyn had ben accused vnto king Edward, by the lord Riuers the queenes brother, in such wise that he was for the while (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the kinges indignacion, and stode in gret fere of himselfe. And for asmuch as he nowe met this pursenant in the same place that iubardy (i.e. *jeopardy*) so wel passed: it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him thereof with whom he had before talked therof in the same place while he was therein. And therfore he said: Ah Hastings, art thou remembered when I met thee here ones with an heuy hart? Yea my lord (quod he) that remember I wel: and thanked be God they gate no good, nor ye none harme

thereby. Thou wouldest say so, quod he, if thou knewest asmuch as I know, which few know els as yet and moe shall shortly. That ment he by the lordes of the quenes kindred that were taken before, and should that day be beheaded at Pounfreit: which he wel wist, but nothing ware that the axe hang ouer his own hed. In faith man quod he, I was neuer so sorry, nor neuer stode in so great dread in my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And lo how the world is turned, now stand mine enemies in the daunger (as thou maist hap to here more hereafter) and I neuer in my life so mery, nor neuer in so great auerty."

345. Line 111: *I thank thee, good Sir John.*—Sir was a title given, by courtesy, to all priests and ordained clergy below the degree of priest. Nares says (*sub voce*) that a bachelor "who in the books (of the university) stood Dominus Brown, was in conversation called Sir Brown. This was in use in some colleges even in my memory. Therefore, as most clerical persons had taken that first degree, it became usual to style them *sir*." Compare the *Sir* Topas of Twelfth Night and also the *Sir* Oliver Mar-text of As You Like It. In Beaumont and Fletcher's Scornful Lady (ll. 1) *Sir* Roger the Curate is called also *Dominus*. It was always used coupled with the Christian name.

346. Line 113: *Come the next Sabbath, and I will content you.*—After this line we have in F.:

Priest. He wait upon your Lordship;

which was apparently inserted by mistake, as we have the very same words used by Hastings below, line 124. Qq. only have the stage-direction: *He whispers in his ear*, which we have rendered: *They confer privately in whispers*. It is evident, from the first line Buckingham speaks, that some such private conference must have been going on when he entered.

ACT III. SCENE 3.

347.—Q. 1 has the stage-direction: "*Enter Sir Richard Ratcliffe, with the Lo: Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan, prisoners.*" More says (p. 86) that the execution or murder of Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan took place on the same day on which Hastings was beheaded, that is to say, June 13th; but, as Lord Rivers's will is dated June 23d, in which he makes allusion to the execution of Gray, and directs his body to be buried with that of the Lord Richard [Gray], it is certain that he was not put to death till some days later. They were all executed without any form of trial.

348. Line 1.—Qq. commence the scene with a line spoken by Ratcliff: *Bring forth the prisoners.* This was perhaps inserted in order to make the scene more in accordance with history. On the very day on which Hastings was arrested and beheaded, Ratcliff, according to Lingard (p. 237): "at the head of a numerous body of armed men, entered the castle of Pontefract, and made himself master of the lord Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawse. To the spectators it was announced that they had been guilty of treason; but no judicial forms were observed; and the heads of the victims were struck off in the presence of the multitude."

349. Line 4: *God KEEP the prince from all the pack of you!*—So Qq.; F. have *bless*.

350. Lines 6, 7:

Vaugh. *You live that shall cry woe for this hereafter.*
Rat. *Dispatch; the limit of your lives is out.*

These lines are omitted in Qq.

351. Line 10: *Within the guilty CLOSURE of thy walls.*—Compare Sonnet xlviii. 11:

Within the gentle closure of my breast;

and Venus and Adonis, 782:

Into the quiet closure of my breast.

These are the only two other passages in which Shakespeare uses the word in this sense; but in Titus Andronicus, v. 3. 134, it is used in the sense of "end": "I take a mutual closure of our house."

352. Line 11: *Richard the Second here was hack'd to death.*—See Richard II. note 317.

353. Line 12: *thy dismal SEAT.*—*Seat* does not seem here an altogether satisfactory word. Qq. read *soule*, which is nonsense. Capell conjectured *soil*. But if we take *seat* = "site" (a word which Shakespeare never uses) the expression would be a perfectly suitable one. Compare Macbeth, i. 6. 1: "This castle hath a pleasant *seat*." Schmidt takes it to mean "a place of residence, abode," in which sense it is often used in Shakespeare.

354. Lines 14, 15.—See above, i. 3. 210-214.

355. Line 15.—Omitted by Qq.; such an omission as this scarcely says much in favour of the accuracy of Q. 1.

356. Lines 17, 18:

Then curs'd she Richard TOO; then curs'd she Buckingham,

Then curs'd she Hastings.

We have ventured to insert *too* in order to make line 17 complete, which in F. 1 is printed as two lines:

Then curs'd shee Richard,

Then curs'd shee Buckingham.

Qq. give the passage as one line; but substitute *Hastings* for *Richard*. But the line cannot be made to scan or to read rhythmically without the insertion of a syllable.

357. Line 23:

Make haste; the hour of death is EXPIATE.

Qq. read:

Come, come, dispatch, the limit of your lives is out,

omitting line 7 above (see note 350), in which that same expression occurs. The exact meaning of the word *expiate* here is by no means clear. Singer proposed to read *expirate*. Collier substituted *expedite*. More than one word might be proposed, e.g. *explicate* = explicated, though this is certainly not a word used by Shakespeare. *Explet* might be suggested; as we find in Palgrave, "I *expite*, I finish or make an end of anything." The difficulty about *expiate* is not in its being equivalent to *expiated*; for that form of past participle is common enough. F. 2, F. 3, F. 4 get out of the difficulty by reading *is now expir'd*. Nearly all the commentators quote Sonnet xxii. 4:

Then look I death my days should expiate.

But there we have some trace of the sense in which *expiate* seems always to have been used, namely, of a propitiatory sacrifice or atonement. It is easy to understand how *death* can *expiate* our days by atoning, in some measure, for the wrongs we have committed. But it is not easy to see how the *hour of death* can be said to be *expiated*. Perhaps the word *expiate* should have somewhat of an active sense, and may intentionally be used, with a sneer, by Ratcliff in reference to line 21:

Be *satisfied*, dear God, with our true blood.

This seems the most probable explanation if we accept the reading of F. 1.

ACT III. SCENE 4.

358. Line 4: *Is all things ready for THE royal time?*—So Ff.; Qq. read:

• *Are all things fitting for that royal time?*

We have preferred the reading of F. 1, because even those editors, who accept the version of Qq. in this line, read *It is* in Stanley's speech in the next line, that being the reading both of Qq. and Ff. It is impossible therefore to alter the verb into the plural in this line, and to leave the answer in the singular. Compare II. Henry VI. iii. 2. 11-13 and see note 183 on that play. It will be observed, with regard to that passage, that the Cambridge edd. retain the reading of Ff. on the very same ground that we retain it here. We may also compare Othello, i. 1. 172: "*Is there not charms?*" Perhaps this passage affords as good an instance as any of the utterly arbitrary, and, if we may use the expression, careless manner in which the alterations in the first Quarto have been made. If the transcriber of Q. 1 had altered *It is* into *There are*, he would have shown some sense and consistency; but he alters the verb to the plural, in the first case, without taking the trouble to make the answer correspond to the alteration.

359. Line 6: *To-morrow, then, I judge a happy day.*—The meaning of this speech is not quite clear at first sight; but it is really an answer to the preceding line, as will be seen from the explanation of *wants but nomination* given in our foot-note. The meaning, of course, is, that the bishop thinks that *to-morrow* will be a fortunate day for the coronation.

360. Lines 10-12:

*We know each other's faces: for our hearts,
He knows no more of mine than I of yours;
OR I of his, my lord, than you of mine.*

This, the reading of Ff., is infinitely preferable to that of Qq.

Bi. (i.e. *Bishop*). Why you my Lo: me think you should soonest know his mind

Buc. Who I my Lo? we know each others faces:

But for our hearts, he knows no more of mine,
Then I of yours: nor I no more of his, then you of mine:

Dyce follows Ff. in the main, but adopts the reading of Qq. *Nor* for *Or* in line 12.

361. Line 19: *But you, my NOBLE lords, may name the time.*—F. 1 has "*my honourable lords*"; Q. 1, Q. 2 "*my*

noble Lo:" *Noble* is the preferable epithet here for metrical reasons.

363. Line 23: *I have been long a sleeper.*—It is worth comparing the following passage from *The True Tragedy*: "*Rich. Go to, no more ado Catesby, they say I have bin a long sleeper to-day, but I'll be awake anon to some of their costs*;" and, just below, *The Page* soliloquizes: "*Doth my lord say he hath bene a long sleeper to day? There are those of the Court that are of another opinion, that thinks his grace I'll neuer lög inough a bed*" (*Hazlitt's Shak. Lib.* vol. i. pt. 2, p. 85).

363. Line 26: *cue.*—See *Mids. Night's Dream*, note 161. It would seem to be unnecessary to explain the meaning of this word, but that, recently (January, 1877), a judge upon the bench said that he did not know the meaning of the word "*untill* very late in life."

364. Lines 32-35:

*My Lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,
I saw good strawberries in your garden there:
I do beseech you send for some of them.*

Ely. Marry, and will, my lord, with all my heart.

So Ff.; Qq. insert a line quite unnecessarily before line 32:

Hast. I thank you grace;

and then continue thus:

Glo. My Lo: of Elye. Bish. My Lo:

Glo. When I was last in Holborne:

I saw good strawberries in your garden there,

I doe beseech you send for some of them.

Bish. I go my Lord.

Sir Thomas More thus narrates the incident of the strawberries (p. 70): "*And after a little talking with them, he sayd unto the Bishop of Elye: my lord you haue very good strawberries at your gardayne in Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of them. Gladly my lord, quod he, woulde god I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that. And therwith in al the hast he sent hys seruunt for a messe of strawberries. The protectour sette the lordes fast in comoning, and therupon prayeng them to spare hym for a little while, departed thence.*" In the Latin play of *Richardus Tertius* (act v.) *Gloster* says:

ferunt hortū tuū

decora fragra plurimū producere.

Episcop. Elyens.

Nū tibi claudetur, hortus quod meus

producit.

—Hazlitt, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 163.

365. Line 41: *His master's child, as WORSHIPFUL he terms it.*—Ff. have *worshipfully*. We prefer the reading of Qq. for the sake of the metre. The transcriber may easily have mistaken *he* for *by*; instances of adjectives used as adverbs are common enough. Compare above, i. 1. 22: *unfashionable* = *unfashionably*; and below, line 50, "*cheerfully* and *smooth*."

366. Line 45: *To-morrow, IN MY JUDGMENT, is too sudden.*—So Ff.; Qq. have here *in mine opinion*, a reading which it is really impossible to say why any editor should retain, considering that it renders the line horribly unrhymical, and possesses no force or merit of any kind whatever.

367. Lines 48, 49:

*Where is my lord the Duke of Gloster?
I have sent for these strawberries.*

So Ff.; Qq. have:

Where is my L. protector, I have sent for these strawberries, printed all in one line, which the Cambridge edd. print as prose. We may suppose that *Gloster* (*Gloucester*) is here pronounced as a trisyllable, as there are instances of such a division of the syllables. Compare I. Henry VI. note 89, and Richard II. note 171. As to line 49, if we take the passage as verse, it is hopelessly imperfect and unrhymical. Hammer supplied the word *straightway*, in order to complete the metre. We might complete it by reading: "I have sent *some one*." Compare iv. 4. 538 of this play:

Some one take order Buckingham be brought.

368. Lines 57, 58:

*What of his heart perceive you in his face
By any LIKELIHOOD he show'd to-day?*

So Qq.; Ff. have *livelihood*, a reading which it appears to us to be impossible to defend. *Livelihood* is only used in two other passages in Shakespeare, in *Venus and Adonis*, 28.

The precedent of pith and *livelihood*,

where it undoubtedly means "liveliness;" and in *All's Well*, i. 1. 58: "the tyranny of her sorrow takes all *livelihood* from her cheek;" a passage upon which Knight relies for the justification of the reading of Ff. here; but surely, there it means nothing more than "colour" or "brightness." There may be some better ground for defending the reading *livelihood*, because it corresponds with line 50 above; but *Hastings'* answer seems to correspond much better with *likelihood*, which is used pretty frequently in Shakespeare—"sign," "evidence." Compare *Two Gent. of Verona*, v. 2. 43:

These *likelihoods* confirm her flight from hence;

and *Othello*, i. 3. 108: "these thin habits and poor *likelihoods*."

369. Line 60: *For, were he, he had shown it in his looks.*
—After this line Qq. insert quite unnecessarily:

Der. (i.e. Stanley) I pray God he be not, I say.

But as Gloucester's next speech begins with the words *I pray* the line is much better omitted.

370. Line 61.—In the old play this incident is thus narrated:

Enter Richard, Catesby, and others, pulling Lord Hastings.

Rich. Come bring him away, let this suffice, thou and that accursed sorceresse the mother Queene hath bewitched me, with assistance of that famous strumpet of my brothers, Shores wife: my withered arme is a sufficient testimony, deny it if thou canst; I am not Shores wife with thee last night?

Hast. That she was in my house my Lord I cannot deny, but not for any such matter. If.

Rich. If, villain, feedest thou me with ifs and ands, go fetch me a Priest, make a short shrift, and dispatch him quickly. For by the blessed Saint Paule I sweare, I will not dine till I see the traitors head.—Hazlitt, vol. i. pt. 2, p. 30

And in the *Mirror for Magistrates*, *Hastings* is made to say of *Richard* (st. 71):

Frowning he enters, with so chaunged cheare,
As for mylde May had chopped foule
And lowring on me with the goggle eye,
The whetted tuske, and furrowed forehead hye,
His crooked shoulder bristellike set vp.

With frothy lawes, whose foame he chawde and supd,
With angry looks that flamed as the fyre:

Thus gan at last to grunt the grymest syre.

—Vol. II. p. 298 (edn. 1815).

371. Lines 78–80:

*Off with his head!—now, by Saint Paul, I swear
I will not dine until I see the same.—
Lovell and Ratcliff, look that it be done.*

These lines stand thus in Q. 1:

Off with his head. Now by Saint Paule,
I will not dine to day I sweare,
Vntill I see the same, some see it done.

372. Line 80: *Lovell and Ratcliff, look that it be done.*—

The introduction of *Ratcliff* in this scene has occasioned much difficulty to the various editors of Shakespeare; for, as he was represented, in the last scene, as being at Pomfret, and the events there represented are supposed to take place simultaneously with the events in this scene, it is impossible that he could have been in London and Pomfret at the same time. In Q. 1 an attempt is made to meet the difficulty. *Ratcliff* is not among the characters present in this scene, the only stage-direction at the commencement being: *Enter the Lords to Councell.* And after line 81 is the stage-direction: *Exeunt. manet Cat. with Ha.* F. 1 has *Ratcliff's* name distinctly among the characters who enter with Buckingham. It also has after this next line the stage-direction: *Manet Lovell and RATCLIFFE, with the Lord Hastings;* and, in the next scene, after line 20, where Q. 1 has: *Enter CATESBY with Hast. head*, F. 1 has, after line 21: *Enter LOUELL and RATCLIFFE, with Hastings Head.* It is evident, therefore, that, in the copy from which Q. 1 was transcribed, an attempt was made to remedy this oversight on the part of the author. But, as in many other cases of attempted improvements to be found in Q. 1, the reviser overlooked one important point; for he left in the next scene, i.e. scene 5, line 17, Gloucester's direction to *Catesby*: "*Catesby*, overlooke the wala." For this reason we agree with the Cambridge edd. that it is doing too much violence to the text of our author to try and correct this evident oversight. It is one into which any author, at a time when the change of scene involved no change of scenery, might easily fall. The Clarendon edd. also suggest that one of the players may have doubled *Catesby* and *Ratcliff*; but this could scarcely be possible, as in act iv. scene 4 we have *Ratcliff* and *Catesby* on the stage at the same time, and speaking to *Richard*. The fact is, that this is one of those slips on the part of the author which can be easily remedied on the stage, but not where the text is printed entire.

373. Line 84: *Stanley did dream the boar did RAZE his helm.*—Q. 1 has

Stanley did dreame, the boare did *raze* his helme.

F. 1: Stanley did dream, the Boar did *raze* our Helmes.

Most modern editors print *raze*, which, for the reasons given in note 331, is a mistake.

374. Line 85: *And I did scorn it, and disdain to fly.*—
So F. 1; Q. 1 has:

But I disdain it, and did scorn to flee;
which most modern editors seem to prefer, for what precise reason does not appear.

375. Line 86: *FOOT-CLOTH horse.*—See II. Henry VI. note 227.

376. Lines 91, 92:

*As too TRIUMPHING, how mine enemies
To-day at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd.*

In Q. 1 these lines stand:

As were triumphing at mine enemies;
How they at Pomfret bloodily were butcher'd.

The alteration of Q. 1 was evidently made to avoid the *To-day*, with a view of getting rid of the difficulty about *Ratcliff* (see above, note 372); but if we refer back to scene 2 of this act, line 105, we shall see that Q. 1 retains *This day* in Hastings's speech.

For an instance of *triumphing* accented on the second syllable, compare Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 3. 35:

So ridest thou triumphing in my woe.

377. Line 96: *Come, come, dispatch; the duke would be at dinner.*—This speech is given in Q. 1 to *Catesby*. (See note 372.) The reading in the text is that of F. 1. Most editors prefer to adopt the reading of Q. 1: *Dispatch, my lord*, in order to avoid the repetition of the same expression in line 104 below, a line omitted by Q. 1; but we doubt whether *Ratcliff* would address Hastings as *my lord* at all. In scene 3, according to Qq., he uses the same form of words: *Come, come, dispatch* (see note 357). Shakespeare seems to have intended to represent his manner as that of a ruffian to correspond with his deeds.

378. Line 98: *O momentary grace of mortal men.*—So Ff.; Qq. have:

O momentary state of worldly men;

an utterly meaningless reading; it is impossible to believe Shakespeare could have written such nonsense as that.

379. Line 100: *Who builds his hope in air of your good looks.*—Q. 1 has "your fair grace;" but we prefer the reading of F. 1, as it avoids the jingle of *air* and *fair*. The expression *in air* of is noticeable. I cannot find any instance of it elsewhere. Johnson quotes Horace "*Nescius auræ fallacia*." Livy has "*honoris aura*," and there is the very common expression "*aura popularis*."

380. Lines 104-107.—Qq. omit the incident of Hastings' horse stumbling. It is mentioned in More (p. 76): "Certain is it also, that in the riding toward the tower, the same morning in which he was beheaded, his horse twice or thrise stumbled with him almost to the falling, which thing albeit eche man wote wel daily happeneth to them to whom no such mischaunce is toward: yet hath it ben of an olde rite and custome, obserued as a token often times notably foregoing some great misfortune"—Hastings says, in *The Mirror for Magistrates* (st. 57):

My palfrey in the playnest paved streets,
Thrice bowed his boanes, thrise kneeled on the fowre,
Thrice shoud (as Balam's ase) the dreaded towre.

—Vol. II. p. 294.

ACT III. SCENE 5.

381. Enter GLOSTER and BUCKINGHAM in RUSTY armour, marvellous ill-favoured.—This is the stage-direction in Ff.; except that they give *rotten* instead of "*rusty* armour." Qq. have simply: "Enter Duke of Gloucester and Buckingham in armour." "*Rotten* armour" would simply mean armour that was out of repair. Compare *The Mirror for Magistrates* (st. 88):

In rusty armure as in extreame shift,
They clad themselves, to cloake their diuelish drift.

—Vol. II. p. 393.

382. Line 4: *As if thou wert DISTRAUGHT and mad with terror.*—Compare *Romeo and Juliet*, iv. 3. 49:

O! if I wake, shall I not be distraught!

383. Lines 5-11.—This speech of Buckingham's is doubly interesting. In the first place it gives us some idea of the conventional tragic actor of the time, whose simple tricks were preserved by tradition down to the time when the Richardsonian booth was a common adjunct to every country fair; secondly, one cannot help being amused at Buckingham's boasting of his capacity for acting to Richard, who was the most consummate actor that ever lived. The difference between them was precisely that between the really great actor and the ranting tragedian of Richardson's booth. Buckingham's acting could deceive no one but himself; but Richard's powers of simulation and dissimulation deceived even his most intimate associates.

384. Line 7: *Tremble and start at wagging of a straw.*—Omitted in Qq.

385. Line 8: *INTENDING deep suspicion.*—*Intend* is used in the same sense—"to pretend," "to simulate," below, in this act, scene 7, line 45. Compare *Taming of Shrew*, iv. 1. 206:

amid this hurly I intend
That all is done in reverent care of her.

386. Lines 10-21.—In this passage the differences between Q. 1 and F. 1 are most difficult to reconcile. The chief discrepancy arises, no doubt, from the attempt made by Q. 1 to set right the mistake there had been made above in scene 3. With regard to the presence of *Ratcliff* both here and at the executions at Pomfret, see note 372. In Q. 1 the passage stands thus:

And both are ready in their offices
To grace my stratagems. Enter Malor.

Glo. Here comes the Maior.

Buc. Let me alone to entertaine him. Lo. Malor,

Glo. Looke to the drawbridge there.

Buc. The reason we haue sent for you.

Glo. Catesby overlooke the wals.

Buck. Hark, I heare a drumme.

Glo. Looke backe, defend thee, here are enemies

Buc. God and our innocence defend vs. Enter Catesby with
Hast. head.

Glo. O, O, be quiet, it is Catesby,

As we have already pointed out, Q. 1 does not get rid of the difficulty; for Richard is made to give directions to Catesby before, according to the stage-direction, he has entered on the scene at all. We have followed the version of F. 1, omitting Buckingham's words, *Let me alone to entertain him* (line 14), which are given by most modern

editors who follow Qq. The words seem unnecessary, and may, not improbably, have been added by one of the actors. The object of the dramatist, in this passage, seems to be to represent as much ruff and confusion as is possible. Richard is anxious to convey the impression to the Lord Mayor, that he is under a strong sense of personal danger; and I would suggest that the words (line 16) *Hark, a drum* should be given to Gloster and not to Buckingham.

387. Line 20: *God and our innocence defend and guard us!*—Compare Hamlet's adjuration, i. 4. 39:

Angels and ministers of grace defend us!

The *innocence* of Buckingham and Richard would not be a very reliable defence against any danger.

388. Line 25: *I took him for the plainest HARMLESS creature.*—For this coupling of two adjectives in the superlative and positive degree, compare Merchant of Venice, iii. 2. 295:

The best-condition'd and *unwearied* spirit;

and see note 248 on that play. Also compare below, line 33: "the covert'st *shelter'd* traitor."

389. Line 26: *That breath'd upon the earth a Christian.*—After this line Qq. insert: *Looke ye my Lo: Maior*, which, following Capell, we have transferred to line 34, where it seems in place in Buckingham's speech, but certainly is not so here. Gloster's speech is evidently spoken not to the Lord Mayor, but to Ratcliff, Lovell and Buckingham.

390. Line 29: *To smooth he DAUB'D his vice with show of virtue.*—The verb to *daub* is used, in a figurative sense, in only one other passage in Shakespeare, viz. in Lear, where Edgar, disguised as a madman, says, iv. 1. 53: "I cannot *daub* it further" = "I cannot keep up my assumed character any further." The substantive *daubery* is used in a similarly figurative sense, Merry Wives, iv. 2. 186: "She works by charms, by spells, by the figure, and such *daubery* as this is."

391. Line 34: *That ever liv'd.*—LOOK YOU, MY LORD MAYOR.—These last words were inserted by Capell from the last speech as given in Qq. See note 389 above. It is evident that Buckingham turns round here to speak to the Lord Mayor, and therefore these, or some such words, are almost necessary.

392. Lines 50, 51.—These lines are given to Buckingham in F. 1 as well as the next speech, lines 53–61, which is given in Q. 1, Q. 2 to *Dut.*, probably intended for *Duc.* = *Duke*, and in the rest (substantially) to Gloster. We have followed Ff. in giving lines 50, 51 to Buckingham. They seem entirely out of place as spoken by the Lord Mayor, who ventures, throughout this scene, on no particular condemnation of Hastings. The next speech, lines 52–61, should, it seems to us, be given to Gloster without any hesitation. Buckingham would hardly have dared to talk as if he were, in any respect, the source of supreme authority. The Lord Mayor's speech, lines 62–66, seems certainly addressed to Gloster and not to Buckingham.

393. Line 55: *SOMEWHAT against our MEANING.*—So Qq.;

Ff. have: "*Something against our meanings.*" If the speech be given to Gloster the reading of Qq. seems preferable.

394. Line 56: *Because, my lord, we would have had you HEARD.*—The construction here is certainly very irregular; but we cannot follow Keightley in altering *heard* to *hear*, though it is certainly better grammar, any more than we should, in the line above, alter "*have prevented*" into "*hath prevented*," as Pope suggests. Lettsom (quoted by Dyce, note 57, on this passage) suggests, "*we would that you had heard.*" Dr. Abbott, in his Shakespeare Grammar, sec. 411, would have us read, "*we would have had you (to have) heard.*"

In this line *we* is the reading of Qq.; Ff. have *I*.

395. Line 60: *BUT since you come too late of our intent.*—So Qq.; Ff. have "*Which since.*"

396. Lines 72–84.—For the substance of this speech of Gloster to Buckingham, or rather of the suggestions therein contained, when speaking of the devices of Richard and his party to procure the consent of the people to the deposition of the prince, compare what More says (p. 89): "But the chief thing and the weighty of al that inuencion, rested in this that they should allege bastardy, either in king Edward himself, or in his children, or both. So that he should seme dishabled to inherite the crowne by the duke of Yorke, and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward, sowned openly to the rebuke of the protectours owne mother, which was mother to them both: for in that point could be none other colour, but to pretend that his own mother was one aduoureesse which not withstanding to farther this purpose he letted not; but Natheles he would the point should be lesse and more fauorably handled, not euen fully plain and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslope craftely, as though men spared in the point to speke al the trowth for fere of his displeasure."

The bastardy of Edward had been alleged previously. One of the counts in the attainder of Clarence, 1478, was that he "falsely and untruely published, that the king was a bastard, and not legitimate to reign" (Stowe, pp. 431, 432). And Commynes, *sub anno* 1475, tells how Louis de Creville, a Burgundian, in an interview with Louis XI., "commença à contrefaire le duc de Bourgogne, et à frapper du pied contre terre, et à jurer St. George, et qu'il appelloit le roy d'Angleterre Blanc-borgne, fils d'un archer qui portoit son nom" (Memoires, bk. iv. ch. 8, in Panthéon Littéraire, Choix de Chroniques et Memoires, 1836, p. 103). This is altered in the old English translation.

397. Lines 76–79: *Tell them how Edward put to death a citizen, &c.*—This refers to the execution of one *Burdet*, not—as Gray gives the name—*Walker*. All that More says (p. 106) is "as though *Burdet* were forgotten, that was for a word spoken in hast, cruelly behedded, by the misconstruing of the lawes of thys realme for the princes plesure." But Hall adds (p. 389): "This *Burdet* was a marchant dwelling in Chepesyd at y^e signe of y^e crowne which now is y^e signe of y^e fowre de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merely in y^e raffnyng tyme of kyng

Edward y^e iiiiij. his rage, said to his awne sonne that he would make hym in heritor of y^e crowne, meanyng hys awne house; but these wordes king Edward made to be misconstrued, & interpreted that *Burdet* meant the crowne of the realme: wherfore within lesse space then iiiiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepeseyde."

398. Lines 80-84.—These and other accusations against Edward IV. were embodied in an extraordinary petition, purporting to come from the Lords and Commons, which was presented by Buckingham; it may still be read in the Rot. Par. vi. 240, 241.

399. Lines 86-90.—There was no ground for this accusation. According to William of Winchester, York, who was Regent of France at that time, came over to England on purpose to see his wife. See Ritson's note, Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 133.

400. Lines 101, 102:

*I go; and towards three or four o'clock
Look for the news that the Guildhall affords.*

Printed in Qq. as if it were prose. The first line certainly does not scan; and both read more as if they were intended for prose than verse.

401. Lines 103, 104:

*Go, Lovel, with all speed to DOCTOR SHAW,—
[To Catesby.] Go thou to FRIAR PENKER.*

Doctor Shaw, of Shaa, was brother to the Lord Mayor. More speaks of him (p. 88), "sad *freer Penker* prounciall of the Augustine freers both doctors of diuinite, both gret prechars, both of more learning then vertue, of more fame then lerning."

402. Line 105: *Baynard's Castle* gave its name to one of the wards of the City of London. A long account of this interesting castle, the scene of many historic events, will be found in Stow's Survey of London, 1633 (pp. 56-61). It took its name from one *Baynard*, a nobleman, who came over with the Conqueror, and died in the reign of William Rufus. In the reign of John it belonged to one Robert Fitzwater, whose daughter, Matilda, the king tried to ravish. Fitzwater was banished, and Baynard's Castle was partly destroyed in the year 1214, being "spoiled" by the king. When John was in France, Fitzwater, who was fighting on the French side, so distinguished himself that the king remarked his great courage; and, at the earnest request of some of his friends, he was restored to the royal favour and to his possessions in England. The castle appears to have passed out of the possession of the Fitzwater family. In 1428 it was entirely destroyed by fire, and was rebuilt by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; on whose death, 1446, while under attainder, it came into the possession of Henry VI., and was given by him as a residence to Richard, Duke of York. It appears that it was in Baynard's Castle that York was residing when the agreement was made with Henry by which he was acknowledged heir to the throne, Henry's own son, the Prince of Wales, being then disinherited. It was from here also that Edward IV. set out in procession, when he went to be crowned at Westminster, and it was here that Richard

himself accepted the crown—as is represented in scene 7 of this act. Henry VII. restored the castle in 1501, and resided there for some time. Mary, daughter of Henry VIII., also resided there, after the unsuccessful attempt of Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and it was there that, in 1553, she was declared queen. *Baynard's Castle* was totally destroyed in the Great Fire, 1666. In Smith's Description of England (1588), in the Bird's Eye View of London, plate 28 [Reprint, 1879], the castle is figured on the bank of the river, in a straight line with the west end of St. Paul's; and in Norden's Plan of London (1598), prefixed to Harrison's Description of England (Reprint, New Shak. Soc.), it is seen marked between Paul's Wharf and Blackfriars.

403. Line 108: *And to give NOTICE that no MANNER person.*—Notice is the reading of Qq., in order to avoid the repetition of *order* (see line 106 above), which is the reading of Ff. Chaucer has in The Wife of Bath's Tale (line 6709), *maner rime* = "manner of rhyme."

Lo, in swiche *maner rime* is Dante's tale.

Wherever Shakespeare uses the phrase *manner of men*, e.g. I. Henry VI. i. 3. 74, I. Henry IV. ii. 4. 323, 462, As You Like It, iii. 2. 216, he never omits the preposition; but for a similar elliptical construction, compare I. Henry VI. i. 2. 101.

ACT III. SCENE 6.

404.—This scene only consists of fourteen lines, yet in those fourteen lines there are no less than fourteen differences between Q 1 and F. 1. Many of these are unimportant, and only one, that in line 10, is decidedly in favour of Q. 1; yet the Cambridge edd. religiously adopt the readings of Q. 1 all through; and, in one case, lines 10, 11:

Why who's so gross,

That cannot see this palpable device?

which is the reading of Ff., they reject the reading of Qq. "That *sees* not;" and, rather than adopt the very simple reading of Ff., which suits both sense and metre, they print a conjecture of their own "That *seeth* not." Surely prejudice could go no further than this.

405. Line 1.—This indictment, according to More, was a proclamation made by a herald through the city immediately after dinner on the day of Hastings' execution. The speech in the text was probably suggested by the following passage in More (p. 81): "Now was this proclamation made within ii. houres after that he was beheaded, and it was so curiously indited, and so fair written in parchment in so wel a set hande, and therewith of it self so long a processe, that euery child might wel perceiue, that it was prepared before. For al the time betwene his death and the proclaiming could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare wryting alone, all had it bene but in paper and scribled forth in hast at aduenture."

406. Line 10: *Here's a good world the while! Why, who's so gross.*—This is the reading of Qq., which, in this case, is preferable to that of Ff. "Who is so gross?" though in the very next line the difference is in favour of Ff. (see note 404).

407. Line 12: *Yet who so BOLD but says he sees it not!*

—Q. 1 reads: "who so blind." The Clarendon Press edd. explain the reading of Q. 1: "Who's so blind to the danger of observing it." We confess that the reading of F. 1 seems to us much preferable; the meaning being "who has courage enough to admit that he does see it."

ACT III. SCENE 7.

408. Lines 5, 6:

*I did; with his contrdict with Lady Lucy,
And his contrdict by deputy in France.*

These two lines are omitted in Q. 1. The *pre-contract* with *Lady Elizabeth Lucy* is alluded to by More (pp. 96, 97), in which he says that the Duchess of York being opposed to the king's marriage with Elizabeth Grey alleged that he was *pre-contracted* to "one dame *Elizabeth Lucy*;" but that the said *Elizabeth Lucy* having been sent for and questioned declared that no *pre-contract* had ever existed between them, although she acknowledged that Edward had got her with child. In the address presented by Buckingham, which was afterwards embodied in an Act of Parliament already alluded to (see above, note 308), the name of the person to whom Edward was said to have been *pre-contracted* was "Dame Eleanor Butteler, daughter of the old Earl of Shrewsbury." See Lingard, vol. iv. p. 235, who gives his authority in a foot-note "Rot. Parl. vi. 240, 241;" adding that the very existence of this person has been called in question; but she appears to have been the first-born of the second marriage of the Earl of Shrewsbury with the daughter of Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and widow of Sir Thomas Butteler, Lord Sudeley. It is worth remarking that in Heywood, I. Edward IV., King Edward defends his choice of Lady Grey on the ground that he ought to marry an English woman rather than a foreigner (Works, vol. i. p. 6). Although the duchess alludes to the accusation against the mother of Elizabeth, the Duchess of Bedford, of having practised enchantments in order to bring about the marriage, there is no mention of the *pre-contract* to Lady Lucy or any other English lady. As to Edward's being *contracted by deputy* to the *Lady Bona*, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, and sister to the Queen of Louis XI., there seems to have been more truth in this allegation. All the chroniclers state that, at the time Edward was secretly married to Elizabeth, Warwick had already succeeded in obtaining Louis's consent to the marriage of the *Lady Bona*; and that the King-maker was justly offended at finding that his royal master had made a fool of him in that matter.

408. Line 8: *And his enforcement of the city wives.*—Omitted in Qq., as also line 11 below. The omissions in this speech of Buckingham's in Qq are peculiar, and one is inclined to suspect that they were made out of deference to the feelings of Elizabeth. The allegations made against Edward were very similar to those made with more truth against Henry VIII. He, it will be remembered, pronounced, *ex cathedra*, his own marriage with Anne Bullen to be null and void on account of his former cohabitation with her sister; and, by the same decree, he had, necessarily, bastardized Elizabeth, so that the dramatist would here be treading upon very delicate

ground. One can quite imagine that those in the audience, not possessed of a fanatical reverence for the King of Many Wives, might have taken up some of these, rather markedly.

410. Line 24: *THEY SPAKE not a word.*—Qq. omit this sentence.

411. Line 25: *But, like dumb STATUES or BREATHING stones.*—Qq. Ff. read *statues*. (See II. Henry VI. note 189.) *Breathing* is the reading of Q. 1, Q. 2, Ff. The rest of the old copies have *breathlesse*, a reading which some editors prefer; while others substitute *unbreathing*, which was Rowe's conjecture. There is no necessity for altering the text; the meaning being that they stood still as *stone*, although they were *breathing* human beings. The contrast between the "*dumb statues*" and the "*breathing stones*" is more poetical than the somewhat tautological reading of the later Qq.

412. Line 29: *His answer was,—the people were not USED.*—*Used* is not elided in F. 1, probably intentionally, for the sake of the double ending.

413. Line 30: *To be spoke to, but by the RECORDER.*—Both Q. 1 and F. 1 have a *comma* after *to*, which Dyce omits, and, following Walker, places an accent on the first syllable of *recorder*; but the pronunciation of *recorder*, according to Dyce's arrangement, as a cretic or amphimacer (—), would involve placing an accent on the last syllable of that word, which is very awkward. The *comma* in the old copies indicates a pause, by means of which, it will be seen that the verse can be spoken rhythmically, preserving at the same time the usual pronunciation of *recorder*. Of course Pope's obvious emendation, "*except by the recorder*," gets rid of all difficulty. It may be that the sentence is somewhat elliptical, and that what Buckingham means to say is that the people were not accustomed to be spoken to *directly*, but only *through the recorder*. The person fulfilling this office at the time was Thomas Fitzwilliam. The office of *recorder* is now that of a judge; and he must be a barrister of at least five years' standing. In former times it would seem that the recorder did all the talking for the corporation, a task which, nowadays, it is to be feared, he would find rather laborious. In a scarce and amusing work called *The Itinerant* (1817) we find the following passage referring to this word: "Now, you know, Mr. Romney, the recorder, is supposed not to be a fool; and as it is necessary amongst the body corporate to have one man of common sense, the laws of the country (knowing their general deficiency) place a *recorder* to take care that no flagrant errors are committed; who acts just as a show-man does with his puppets—he moves the wires, and makes all their speeches" (vol. II. p. 291).

414. Line 37: *And thus I took the vantage of those few.*—Omitted in Qq.

415. Line 43: *No, by my troth, my lord.*—Omitted in Ff.

416. Lines 45–51.—The way in which Buckingham assumes the lead here is rather amusing. He is delighted with the success of his powers of acting, of which he was so proud. (See above, note 383.) We can imagine Gloster looking at him with a sly, sarcastic smile, amused at his

attempting to play the leading spirit, and knowing well that neither Buckingham, nor anyone else, could give him lessons in hypocrisy. At the same time it is quite possible that Richard seriously resented Buckingham's want of tact, at this point, in pretending to order him about, and in making *he* appear as if *he* was the commanding spirit and not Gloucester.

417. Line 49: *For on that GROUND I'll make a holy DESCANT.*—Ground is here the same as what was called plain song. Descant does not necessarily mean "variation," as it is generally explained. See Two Gent. note 21.

418. Line 51: *Play the maid's part,—still answer nay, and take it.*—Compare Passionate Pilgrim, 339, 340:

Have you not heard it said full oft,
A woman's nay doth stand for nought?

Byron has utilized this common satire on the value of a woman's nay, in the well-known line in Don Juan:

And whispering "I will ne'er consent"—consented.
—C. I. vt. cxvii.

419. Line 54: *No doubt WE'LL bring it to a happy issue.*—So Qq.; Ff. have "we bring."

420. Line 56: *Welcome, my lord: I DANCE ATTENDANCE HERE.*—This phrase is only used by Shakespeare in two other places—in II. Henry VI. i. 3. 174: "I danced attendance on his will;" and Henry VIII. v. 2. 31:

To dance attendance on their lordships' pleasures.

421. Line 58: *Now, Catesby, what says your lord to my request?*—Here we have an instance of a superfluous syllable at the beginning of a line. This is the reading of Ff.; Qq. have:

I feare he wil, how now Catesby,
What sales your Lord?

which the Cambridge edd. adopt, arranging it thus:

I fear he will,
How now, Catesby, what says your lord?

422. Line 67: *In deep designs AND MATTERS of great moment.*—So Qq.; Ff. have:

In deep designs, in matter of great moment.

423. Line 72: *He is not LOLLING on a lewd DAY-BED.*—Both Qq. and Ff. have *tolling*. It would seem that *loll* and *toll* are very closely connected. Skeat says of *loll*: "The older sense was prob. to 'doze,' to sleep, hence to brood over the fire, to lounge about. It appears to be a mere derivative of *hull*, i.e. to sing to sleep." But that they were distinct words, in Shakespeare's time, would appear from the fact that he uses *toll*, in its ordinary sense, in four passages, of which we give an example below; and he only uses *loll* in two passages: in Troilus and Cressida, i. 3. 162:

The large Achilles, on his press'd bed *lolling*;

and Othello, iv. 1. 148: "So hange, and *lolle*, and weeps upon me." In both these places in the old copies it is spelt *loll*. *Lull*, in its ordinary sense, is used in Mida. Night's Dream, ii. 1. 254:

Lull'd in these flowers with dances and delight.

Palgrave, 1580, gives: "I *loll* one about the ear." He also gives: "I *loll* on my arms." Baret, 1573, does not give *toll* at all, nor the verb to *toll*, but only *tolling*,

which he translates by "flagging. Flaccidus, da, dum. Plin. Flache, Passé." Minaheu, 1599, gives: "to *toll* as the nurse doth her childe." *Loll* he does not give at all. Sherwood, in his English dictionary appended to Cotgrave (1650), gives "To *toll* (or leane on). *S'accouder sur*;" and under "*Tenir la teste sur l'oreiller*," "To *toll* a bed." Cotgrave also gives "*Assopir*. To lay, bring, or *toll*, asleep;" and under "*Mignarter*. To *toll*, feddle, dandle, cherish, wantonize, make much, or make a wanton, of." It is in this latter sense, perhaps, that Chaucer uses *toll* in The Marchantes Tale (line 9097):

He *tulleth* hire, he kiseth hire full oft.

But I can find no instance of *toll*, in this sense, being used intransitively, nor of the word *toll* being printed *toll*. It is possible, therefore, that *toll* might be the right reading here in the sense of "wantonizing." We have followed Dyce and most modern editors, however, in adopting Pope's emendation *lolling*. *Day-bed* is the reading of Qq. and is preferable to that of Ff. *love-bed*, which looks like a gloss. Shakespeare uses *day-bed* in Twelfth Night, ii. 5. 64: "having come from a *day-bed*, where I have left Olivia sleeping," where it means a couch, or sofa, on which the afternoon nap was generally taken. Speaking of Achilles, in the Iron Age (v. 1), Heywood says:

Hee doct his Cushes and yarm'd his head,
To tumble with her on a soft *day bed*.

—Works, vol. iii. p. 415.

424. Line 76: *Not sleeping, to ENROSS his idle body.*—Dr. Aldis Wright quotes from Harrison's Description of England (Reprint New Shak. Soc. p. 142): "they far exceed vs in ouer much and distemperate gormandize, and so *ingross* their bodies that diuers of them doo oft become vnapt to anie other purpose than to spend their times in large tabling and bellie cheere." Harrison is speaking of Scotchmen, though his description could have had little general application to that hardy nation. Cotgrave gives under "*s'Engrossir* . . . to fatten, or battle apace."

425. Line 79: *Take on HIMSELF the sovereignty thereof.*—So Qq.; Ff. have "Take on his grace."

426. Line 80: *But, SURE, I fear we shall not win him to it*—Dyce adopts Collier's MS. correction "*sore* I fear," and quotes from The Merchant of Venice, v. 1. 306, 307:

I'll fear no other thing

So *sore* as keeping safe Nerissa's ring;

but there seems no necessity for altering the text.

427. Lines 82, 83:

*I fear he will: here Catesby comes again;—
Now, Catesby, what says his grace?*

So Ff.; Q. 1, followed by other Quartos, has:

I fear he will

How now, Catesby, what says your lord?

428. Line 93: *beads.*—Many persons forget the real meaning of this word *bead*, which is a "prayer." See Two Gent. note 4.

429. Lines 98, 99:

*And, see, a book of prayer in his hand,—
True ORNAMENTS to know a holy man.*

These two lines are omitted in Qq.; Ff. have *ornaments*, referring to the two bishops as well as the prayer-book. Dyce prefers to read *ornament*, which would make it refer to the prayer-book only.

430. Line 101: *Lend favourable EAR to our REQUEST.*—Qq. have *ears*; Ff. have *requests*.

431. Line 105: *I RATHER do beseech you pardon me.*—This is the reading of Qq.; Ff. have:

I do beseech *your grace* to pardon me.

Below, in line 108, (Hoister calls Buckingham *your grace*; but the reading of Qq. seems preferable here.

432. Line 120: *Your state of fortune and your due of birth.*—Omitted by Qq.

433. Line 125: *THIS noble isle doth want HER proper limbs.*—So Qq.; Ff. have "*The noble isle*;" also read "*his instead of her* here, and below, in lines 126 and 127.

434. Lines 127, 128:

*Her royal stock GRAFT with ignoble plants,
And almost SHOULD'RD in the wallowing gulf.*

The first of these lines is omitted by Qq. Compare II. Henry VI. iii. 2. 213, 214:

and noble stock

Was *graft* with crab-tree slip.

Graft is the participle of the verb *to graft*, French *greffer*, English *graft*, from which the modern verb *to graft* has been formed, just as the verb *to hoist* is formed from the verb *to hoise*. Various emendations have been suggested for the word *shoulder'd*. Johnson suggested *smouldered* = "*smothered*;" but there is no necessity for altering the text. The expression is quite intelligible and very graphic, the meaning being "pushed into," as a person pushes another with his shoulders. *In* is frequently used for *into*. Compare Sonnet cxli. 9:

In so profound abyss I throw all care;

and Tempest, ii. 2. 5: "pitch me i' the mire." We find *to shoulder*, in the same sense, in I. Henry VI. iv. 1. 189:

This shoulder'ing of each other in the court,

the only other place in which Shakespeare uses it.

435. Line 129: *Of DARK forgetfulness and DEEP oblivion.*—Qq. read *blind* for *dark*, and *dark* for *deep*, which most editors prefer; but surely the epithet *blind* is somewhat out of place.

436. Line 130: *Which to RECURE.*—Shakespeare uses the verb *to recure* in *Venus and Adonis*, 465:

A smile *recures* the wounding of a frown;

and in Sonnet xlv. 9:

Until life's composition be *recur'd*

Some commentators explain it as "to recover," but that is hardly an accurate explanation. It means "to make well again." We have *recure*, in this sense, used substantively in Lilly's *Endymion*, ii. 1: "fall into a disease without all *recure*" (Works, vol. i. p. 21). Chapman also uses it in the Argument to *Iliad*, book v., speaking of the wounded Mars: "Mars is *recur'd* by Pæon." Compare *unrecured* in Lilly's *Ancient Ballads and Broad-sides* (1870); "*O unrecured sore!*" (p. 28).

437. Line 135: *But as SUCCESSIVELY, from blood to blood.*—Compare II. Henry IV. iv. 5. 202:

So thou the garland wear'st *successively*.

438. Line 136: *Your right of birth, your EMPERY, your own.*—Compare *Cymbeline*, i. 6. 119, 120:

A lady

So fair and fasten'd to an *emperey*.

439. Lines 144–153.—These lines are omitted in Qq.; but they are certainly necessary. They explain the opening sentences of the speech, and give a finish to Gloucester's hypocrisy. They are lines which scarcely any actor would wish to omit.

440. Line 150: *I CHECK'D my friends.*—*Check'd* here means "rebuked." Compare II. Henry IV. iii. 2. 68:

Then *check'd* and rated by Northumberland.

441. Line 163: *the STEALING hours of time.*—Compare Hamlet, v. 1. 79: "age, with his *stealing* steps;" and Comedy of Errors, iv. 2. 80: "*Time comes stealing on.*"

442. Line 184: *A care-craz'd mother to a many sons.*—This is the reading of Ff.; Qq. read "*of a many children.*" Elizabeth Woodville had only three *children*, a daughter and two *sons*, when Edward married her. The *sons* were the chief objects of hatred and envy on the part of Edward's own family and partisans. For the expression *a many* compare Merchant of Venice, iii. 5. 73: "*a many* fools."

443. Lines 185, 186:

*A beauty-waning and distressed widow,
Even in the afternoon of her best days.*

This personal abuse of Elizabeth, on the part of Buckingham, is essentially mean. She could not be said to be *in the afternoon of her best days*, considering that she was only twenty-seven when she married Edward, and bore him no less than seven children.

444. Line 189: *To base declension and loath'd BIGAMY.*—*Bigamy* is said to have been defined by the second Council of Lyons, 1274, as consisting in either marrying two virgins or a widow. Certainly this is not the canon law of the Church of Rome at present; as the nuptial benediction is not refused in the case where the husband is marrying for the second time, but only in the case where the bride is a widow. But this refusal does not affect the validity or sanctity of the marriage in the eyes of the Church. In the time of Edward IV., however, it was considered *bigamy* to marry a widow; and More, who was copied by the other chroniclers, gives it as one of the arguments used by the Duchess of York to her son to dissuade him from his marriage with Elizabeth.

445. Lines 192–194:

*More bitterly could I EXPOSTULATE,
Save that, for reverence to some alive,
I give a sparing limit to my tongue.*

Dr. Aldis Wright explains *expostulate* "to set forth in detail;" and quotes the well-known passage in Hamlet, ii. 2. 86, 87.

to *expostulate*
What majesty should be.

There is no doubt that the word is frequently used in that sense; but surely here it means "to remonstrate." Buckingham probably means that he is about to touch on the alleged illegitimacy of Edward, but is restrained by considerations, both for Richard and his mother; and that he remembered the caution given him by the former. See above, III. 5. 93, 94.

446. Line 202: *Refuse not, mighty lord, this proffer'd love.*—Omitted by Qq.

447. Line 213: *egally.*—This is the reading of the first six Qq. and F. 1; the other, Ff. and Q. 7, Q. 8 have the more modern form *equally*. At the beginning of chap. xx. lib. I. of *Guttenham's Arte of English Poesie* is the following: "In euerie degree and sort of men vertue is commendable, but not *egally*" (Reprint, 1811, p. 340). In *The Merchant of Venice*, III. 4. 13, the reading of F. 1 is:

Whose souls do bear an *egal* yoke of love.

448. Line 214: *Yet WHETHER you accept our suit or no.*—So Qq.; F. 1 has *Yet WHERE* (the contracted form of *whether*).

449. Lines 219, 220:

Come, citizens: ZOUNDS, I'll entreat no more.

Glo. O, do not swear, my lord of Buckingham.

So Qq.; Ff. omit *zounds* and consequently the whole of line 220. The omission was made on account of the act of James I., so often referred to, against the use of the name of God and profane swearing on the stage. But it is a pity to lose such an admirable touch of hypocrisy as Gloucester's rebuke of Buckingham.

450. Line 220: Exit Buckingham; the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens are following him.—We have slightly altered the stage-direction here, and below, in line 224, in order to make it clear that all the citizens do not go off the stage. In fact they scarcely have time to do that. If they were all to go off, and then to return with Buckingham and Catesby after line 228 below, Gloucester would have no one to speak to after Catesby's exit. See lines 224-226.

451. Line 224: *I am not made of STONE.*—So Pope; Qq. Ff. have the same mistake, *stones*.

452. Line 247: *Farewell, GOOD cousin;—farewell, gentle friends.*—So Qq.; Ff. have "my cousins."

ACT IV. SCENE 1.

453.—Johnson proposed to include this scene in the third act; an interval would thus be left between the acts sufficient for the coronation to have taken place and for Dorset to have made his escape to Brittany. The scene seems inserted for little purpose except to make known the princes' imprisonment, and as, in this fourth act, their lives are ended, it seems best to leave this scene as the opening one. As Mr. Daniel observes, there is not much consideration of the natural duration of time in any part of this play.

454. Line 1: *Duch. Who meets us here!—my NIECE Plantagenet.*—Clarence's daughter, the Lady Margaret Plantagenet, was the Duchess of York's granddaughter,

and in this sense, as pointed out in the foot-note, the word *niece* is here used. Compare *Othello*, I. 1. 112, and *Marlowe*, *Dido Queen of Carthage*, act II.:

Venus. Sleep, my sweet *nephew*, in these cooling shades.

—Works, p. 259.

where Venus is addressing Æneas' son Ascanius. *Niece* and *nephew* were not confined in meaning to one relationship, but were used of several. See *Two Gent. of Verona*, note 91, *King John*, note 108, and note 242 *supra*, on the use of *cousin*. In the Authorized Version of the Bible *nephew* always means grandson.

455. Line 4: *to greet the tender PRINCES.*—We have adopted Theobald's emendation. Ff. read *prince*, but wrongly, as line 10 shows.

456. Line 39: *O Dorset, speak not to me, get thee HENCE!*—So Qq.; Ff. have *gone* instead of *hence*. Dorset was one of those who raised forces in the west of England when the quarrel broke out between Buckingham and Richard. The floods of the Severn prevented a junction between them and the Welshmen; and many fled to Brittany, among them Dorset, and Elizabeth's brother, Edward Woodville (see Hall, p. 393).

457. Lines 55, 56:

*A COCKATRICE hast thou hatch'd to the world,
Whose unavoided eye is murderous.*

There are many allusions to the fatal quality of the glance of this legendary serpent, which was called indifferently by the names *cockatrice* and *basilisk*. See II. Henry VI. note 185; and compare III. Henry VI. III. 2. 187; *Romeo and Juliet*, III. 2. 47; *Lucrece*, 540.

458. Line 59: *the inclusive VERGE.*—Compare Richard II. II. 1. 102; where John of Gaunt, speaking of the crown, says:

And yet, incaged in so small a *verge*;

and for the technical sense of the word *verge*, see note 120 on that passage.

459. Line 70: *EVEN IN so short a SPACE.*—So Qq.; Ff. have "Within so short a time."

460. Line 82: *Which EVER SINCE hath KEPT mine eyes from rest.*—We have followed the reading of Qq.; Ff. have "hitherto hath held."

461. Lines 83-85:

*For never yet one hour in his bed
HAVE I ENJOY'D the golden dew of sleep,
But HAVE BEEN WAKED by his timorous dreams.*

Lines 84, 85 are from Q. F. 1 reads instead:

*Did I enjoy the golden dew of sleepe,
But with his timorous dreams was still awak'd.*

More says that, after the murder of the princes, Richard "neuer hadde quiet in his minde, hee neuer thought himself sure. . . . he toke ill rest a nightes, lay long wakyng and musing, sore weryed with care and watch, rather slumbred than slept, troubled wyth fearful dreames," &c. (p. 133, 134).

462. Line 89: *No more than FROM my soul I mourn for yours.*—So Qq.; Ff. read *with*.

463. Line 90: *Farewell, thou woeful welcomer of glory!*—

Ff. give this speech to Dorset. In the Cambridge Ed. the note says that Qq. give *Qu* as the name of the speaker (i.e. *Queen Eliz.*). But Q. 1 certainly has *Dor* as the prefix. We follow most editors in giving it to Queen Elizabeth, since the next speech, which is an answer to this, is plainly addressed to her.

464. Line 94: *Go thou to sanctuary, good thoughts possess thee!*—No Qq. **Ff.** have

Go thou to Sanctuary, and good thoughts possess thee.

and both Dyce and the Cambridge edd. retain this. But the additional syllable destroys the euphony of the line, and we have accordingly rejected it.

465. Lines 98-104 are omitted in Qq. No doubt they were marked for omission in the theatre copy from which Q. 1, in all probability, was partly printed.

ACT IV. SCENE 2.

466.—**Ff.** include Ratcliff and Lovel among the persons present in this scene, and, though they have nothing to say, we have retained them; as it seems likely that they, being the king's favourites, were intended to accompany him.

467. Lines 8, 9:

*Ah, Buckingham, now do I PLAY the TOUCH,
To try if thou be current gold indeed.*

The meaning is "act or play the part of the touchstone." *Touch*, with this meaning, occurs in Ralph Roister Doister, ii. 2:

But yonder cometh forth a wench or a lad:

If he have not one Lombard's touch, my luck is bad.

—Dodsley, iii. 89.

Compare, also, A Warning for Fair Women, 1599, act ii.:

now the houre is come

To put thy love unto the touch, to try

If it be current, or but counterfeit.

—School of Shakspeare, ii. 329.

Concerning "the stone, which they call in Latin *coticula*," Pliny writes (Nat. Hist. bk. xxxiii. ch. 8), "all the sort of them are but small. . . . By means of these touchstones, our cunning and expert mine-masters, if they touch any ore of these metalls, which with a pickaxe or file they have gotten forth of the veins in the mine, will tell you by and by how much gold there is in it, how much silver or brasse," &c. (Holland's Translation, ii. p. 478). The Clarendon Press edition notes, from King's Natural History of Gems (p. 153), the statement that the present touchstone is a black jasper, the best pieces of which come from India. It seems to have been sometimes reckoned among precious stones.

468. Line 27: *The king is angry; see, he gnaws his lip.*—Hall (p. 421) says, "when he stode musing he woulde bite and chaw busely his nether lippe, as who sayd, that his fyerce nature in his cruell body alwaies chafed, sturred and was neuer ynquite."

i. Lines 46-48:

How now! what news with you?

My lord, I hear

*The Marquess Dorset's fled beyond the seas
To Richmond, in those parts where he abides.*

In the old copies this passage is printed in a very confused manner. Q. 1 reads:

How now, what newes with you?

Darby. My Lord, I heare the Marques Dorset

Is fled to Richmond, in those partes beyond the seas where he abides.

F. 1 has:

How now, Lord Stanley, what's the newes?

Stanley. Know my louing Lord, the Marquesse Dorset

As I heare, is fled to Richmond,

In the parts where he abides.

Various arrangements have been made of these lines. Those who adopt the reading of Q. 1 arrange them thus:

How now! what news with you?

Stanley. My lord, I hear the Marquess Dorset's fled

To Richmond in those parts beyond the seas

Where he abides.

Those who adhere to the reading of **F. 1** thus:

How now, Lord Stanley! what's the news?

Stanley. Know, my loving lord

The Marquess Dorset, as I hear, is fled

To Richmond in the parts where he abides.

The arrangement in our text is made up partly from Q. 1, and partly from **F. 1**, and has the advantage of avoiding the two broken lines; perhaps, if anything, to make the sense a little clearer.

The whole of the rest of this scene is, from a dramatic point of view, one of the most effective portions of the play. It exhibits the wonderfully versatile power of Richard's mind. Though he makes no answer to Stanley, he hears perfectly well the message he has brought; but he takes no ostensible notice of it till he repeats the substance of it to Buckingham, below, in line 84. The course of thought he was before pursuing—namely, how to get rid of all other claimants to the throne, and to make his usurped position sure—he still continues in his mind, putting aside the question of Dorset's escape for after consideration. In the course of the next two or three minutes he has formed his plans by which he proposes to secure his throne, as he thinks, against every possible contingency. The concentration of his mind, which enables him to come to such a rapid decision, is craftily concealed under the guise of an abstraction which the unwary might mistake for inattention or indifference.

470. Line 49: *Come hither, Catesby.* [*Stanley retires.*]—*Rumour it abroad.*—The Cambridge edd. were the first to insert in the text a stage-direction [*Stands apart*] after Stanley's speech, which renders it easier for the reader to understand how it is Richard can convey his secret instructions to Catesby and to Tyrrel without any fear of being overheard. We have placed a similar stage-direction a little further on, as in the text, because it is probable that Stanley would not retire at once after delivering his message; but he would do so, naturally, when he saw the king call Catesby to him, as if wishing to speak to him apart. Our text, as usual, follows **F. 1**. Q. 1 reads:

King. Catesby.

Cat. My Lord.

King. Rumor it abroad

That Anne my wife &c.

471. Line 54: *The boy is foolish, and I fear not him.*—*The*

boy is Edward Plantagenet, Clarence's son, born in 1470. (see note 4). Richard kept him as a prisoner in "the maner of Sherrythutton in the countie of York" (Hall, p. 422). * Henry VII. transferred him to the Tower, where he lay "almost frō his tender age, that is to saye, frō [the] first yere of the kyng [Henry VII.] to thys . xv. yere, out of al oppydny of mē & sight of beastes, I so much that he could not discern a Goose from a Capon" (ut *supra*, p. 490; copied from Polydore Virgil).

472. Line 57: *STANDS me much UPON.*—Compare Comedy of Errors, iv. 1. 68:

Consider how it *stands upon* my credit.

473. Line 69: *AY, my lord.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *Please you, my lord.*

474. Line 81: *Tyr. I will dispatch it straight.*—This is the reading of M.; Qq. have:

Tyr. Tis done my gracious lord.

King. Shal we heare from thee Tirrel ere we sleepe?

Tyr. Ye shall my lord.

The two additional lines, as Collier pointed out, are a mere repetition, taken from iii. 1. 188, 189.

475. Line 83: *The late DEMAND that you did sound me in.*—So Qq.; Ff. read *request.*

476. Lines 89, 90:

*Th' earldom of Hereford, and the moveables,
Which you have promised I shall possess.*

Compare iii. 1. 194-196, and note 10 *supra*. The last Earl of Hereford was Humphrey de Bohun, father-in-law of Thomas of Woodstock and Henry IV., earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton (see Richard II. notes 4 and 25, and note 7 *supra*), who died in 1377. After the death of his widow (daughter of the Earl of Arundel) a claim was made by Woodstock's daughter Anne, widow of Edmund Stafford, fifth Earl of Stafford, for a share of her grandmother's estate; and Henry V. gave the earldoms of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton, with the dukedom of Buckingham, to her and her son Humphrey Stafford, Buckingham's grandfather (Richard II. note 25, and II. Henry VI. note 8). The grant was confirmed, with certain limitations, by Henry VI., but, after the accession of Edward IV., the earldom of Hereford was vested in the crown by act of parliament. It was to this that Buckingham now laid claim, as the next in blood (Hall, p. 387).

Hereford is printed *Herford* in More and in Qq., and was pronounced as a dissyllable. (See Richard II. note 29.) Ff. wrongly have *Herford*. In iii. 1. 195 both Q. 1. and F. 1. print *Hereford*.

477. Lines 98-115.—This passage is omitted in Ff. It was doubtless "cut" in the theatre copy from which F. 1. was printed; but its omission would deprive the representative of Richard of a very effective bit of acting. In most of the instances of a passage struck out, it is in Qq. that the omission occurs.

478. Lines 99, 100:

*How chance the prophet could not at that time
Have told me, I BEING AX, that I should kill him?*

This is one of the many discrepancies between the present

play and II. and III. Henry VI. Richard is not one of the persons present in the scene (iv. 6) in III. Henry VI., nor indeed was he at court at the time of Henry's restoration.

479. Lines 102-106:

*When last I was at Exeter,
The mayor in courtesy shoud me the castle,
And call'd it Rougemont: at which name I started,
Because a bard of Ireland told me once,
I should not live long after I saw Richmond.*

This story is thus related by Abraham Fleming in Holinshed's second edition, on the authority of John Hooker, alias Vowel: "King Richard (saith he) came this yere [1483] to the citie [of Exeter], but in verie secret maner, whom the mayor & his brethern in the best maner they could did receiue. . . . And during his abode here he went about the citie, & viewed the seat of the same, & at length he came to the castell: and when he vnderstood that it was called Rugemont, suddenlie he fell into a dumpe, and (as one astonied) said; 'Well, I see my daies be not long.' He spake this of a prophesie told him, that when he came once to Richmond he should not long live after" (p. 421). We have here an illustration of the fact remarked upon in note 649 *infra*, that the second edition of Holinshed was the one used by Shakespeare. The *bard of Ireland* seems to be Shakespeare's own invention.

490. Lines 113, 114:

*Because that, like a JACK, thou keep'st the stroke
Betwixt thy begging and my meditation.*

The *Jack*, or *Jack o' the clock*, was a mechanical figure which struck the bell of the clock. Compare Richard II. note 321. The sentence is not plain. Probably the meaning is, "You keep on with the noisy interruption of your requests upon my meditative humour, just as the striking is kept up between the Jack's hammer and the bell."

491. Line 116: *Why, then resolve me whether you will or no.*—So Qq. F. 1, having omitted the previous eighteen lines, alter this to

May it please you to resolve me in my suit.

492. Lines 118, 119:

*Is it even so? rewards he my true service
With such contempt?*

So Qq., excepting that they insert *deepe* before *contempt*. Ff. read:

And is it thus? repayes he my deepe serulce
With such contempt?

493. Lines 120, 121:

*O, let me think on Hastings, and be gone
To BRECKNOCK, while my fearful head is on!*

Brecknock Castle, in South Wales, built by Bernard of Newmarch, was enlarged in the thirteenth century by Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, who had married Eleanor de Breos (or Bruce), heiress of the lordship of Brecknock. Buckingham's grandfather acquired the lordship, along with other portions of the de Bohun inheritance, in Henry V.'s time. (See note 476 *supra*.) It was to this place that the Bishop of Ely was sent after the council at the Tower, and the keep, which is now the most con-

siderable remnant of the castle, was called, after him, Ely Tower.

ACT IV. SCENE 3.

484.—No new scene is marked here in *Ff*, though *Qq* seem to imply one, and the division is certainly necessary. Even if we are to include the succeeding events in the same day with the foregoing, the time is different, for in sc. 2. line 111, it is morning, whereas line 31 *infra* shows the time now to be evening. But it seems better to suppose an interval between this and the foregoing scene.

More's account of the murder is as follows: "On the morrow he sent him [*i.e.* Tyrrell] to Brakenbury with a letter, by which he was commanded to deliver sir James all the keyes of the Tower for one nyght. . . . For sir James Tyrrel denied that thei shold be murdered in their beddes. To the execucion wherof, he appointed Miles Forest one of the foure that kept them, a felowe fleshed in murther before time. To him he loyned one John Dighton his own horsekeper, a bigbrode square strong knaue. Then al the other being remoued from them, thys Miles Forest and John Dighton, about midnight (the sely children lying in their beddes) came into the chamber, and sodainly lapped them vp among the clothes so be-wrapped them and entangled them keepeng down by force the fetherbed and pillows hard vnto their mouthes, that within a while smored and stifed, theyr breath failing, the gaue vp to god their innocent soules" (pp. 129-131). See note 2 *supra*.

485. Line 5: *To do this RUTHLESS piece of butchery.*—So *Q* 1, *Q* 2. *Q* 3. reads:

To do this *ruthfull* piece of butchery,

and the remaining *Qq*:

To do this *ruthfull* butchery,

while *Ff* have:

To do this piece of *ruthfull* butchery.

486. Line 8: *Wept like TWO children.*—So *Qq*. *Ff* have "Wept like to children."

487. Line 13: *WHICH in their summer beauty kiss'd each other.*—So *Qq*. *Ff* read *and* instead of *which*.

488. Line 31: *Come to me, Tyrrel, soon at AFTER-SUPPER.*—So *Qq*. *Ff* have *and* instead of *at*. This looks rather like an alteration by someone who had misunderstood the text. For an explanation of *after-supper*, see A Midsummer Night's Dream, note 249.

489. Line 32: *the PROCESS of their death.*—Compare *iv*. 4. 253, below. Also Hamlet, *i*. 5. 37, 38:

Is by a forged *process* of my death
Rankly abus'd.

490. Lines 36:

*The son of Clarence have I pent up close;
His daughter meanly have I match'd in marriage.*

On these and the next two lines compare lines 52-55 of the preceding scene. Mr. Daniel points out that the dramatist has crowded all these incidents into an impossibly short space of time, as is his usual habit throughout this play.

491. Line 40: *the Breton¹ Richmond.*—Richmond had taken refuge at the court of the Duke of Brittany when a mere child (see above, note 6); which explains the name Richard here, contemptuously, gives him.

492. Line 43: Enter CATESBY.—So *Qq*. *Ff* have "Enter RATOLIFFE." A similar variety occurs at *ii*. 4. 80 *supra*.

493. Line 46: *ELY is fled to Richmond.*—So *Qq*. *Ff* read *Mourton* for *Ely*. It was in October, 1483, when Buckingham, having been deserted by his Welsh forces, became a fugitive, that the Bishop of Ely escaped, first to his see of Ely, and thence to Flanders.

ACT IV. SCENE 4.

494. Lines 1, 2:

*So, now prosperity begins to mellow,
And drop into the rotten mouth of death.*

Steevens pointed out an imitation of this metaphor in Marston, Antonio and Melida, part II. act v. scene 1:

now is his fate growne mellow,

Instant to fall into the rotten jaws
Of chap-falne death.

—Works, *i*. 132, 133.

495. Lines 15, 16:

say that RIGHT FOR RIGHT

Hath dimm'd your infant morn to aged night.

Right for right signifies something the same as *measure for measure*; "my right, namely vengeance for my son's murder, in return for Edward's right, that murder (which was in revenge for Rutland's)". Compare lines 63-66 *infra*. But we cannot give any close interpretation to a phrase used only for the sake of a verbal conceit and a rhyme.

496. Lines 24, 25:

*WHEN didst thou sleep, WHEN such a deed was done?
Q. Mar. When holy Harry died, and my sweet son.*

Line 25 shows that the two *whens* in the foregoing line stand in no need of alteration. *F*. 2. reads "Why dost thou sleep" and Lettsam proposed to alter the second *when* in line 24 to *while*.

497. Line 26: *poor MORTAL LIVING ghost.*—Compare *v*. 3. 90 *infra*, and Merchant of Venice, *ii*. 7. 40:

To kiss this shrine, this mortal breathing saint.

498. Line 34: *Ah, who hath any cause to mourn but I?*—So *Qq*. *Ff* have *we* instead of *I*.

499. Line 39: *Tell o'er your woes again by viewing mine.*—So *Qq*. *Ff* omit this line.

500. Line 41: *I had a HARRY, till a Richard kill'd him.*—*Qq* read "I had a Richard," and *Ff*. "I had a husband." Capell in his second edition suggested *Henry*. We have adopted the reading proposed by the Cambridge editors, which is no doubt right. Compare line 59 *infra*.

501. Line 45: *thou HOLP'ST to kill him.*—There are other examples in Shakespeare of this form of the preterite tense of the verb *help*, which was anciently inflected as a "strong" verb, like *tread*, &c. The past participle *holpen* (formed from *help*, like *mollen* from *melt*, &c.) has been

preserved in the prayer-book, in the *Benedictus*. Q. 1, Q. 2, and F. 1 read *hop'st*, which was corrected to *help'st* in Q. 3 and F. 2.

502. Lines 52, 53:

*That excellent grand tyrant of the earth,
That reigns in galled eyes of weeping souls.*

These two lines, which are omitted in Qq., are reversed in order in Ff. Capell arranged them as in our text. The description of the reign must plainly follow the mention of the "grand tyrant"—a name perhaps suggested by that of the *Grand Turk*. The meaning of line 53 is: "the signs of whose reign are weeping and mourning."

503. Lines 56, 57:

this carnal cur

Preys on the life of his mother's body.

Carnal means "fleshly, carnivorous, cannibal"—a sense of the word which is not found elsewhere in Shakespeare.

504. Line 58: *And makes her PEW-FELLOW with others' moan.*—The curious word *pew-fellow* is used originally of one who sits in the same pew with another at church, as in Westward for Smarts: "Being one day at church, she made mone to her *pew-fellow*" (Percy Society Reprint, p. 38). So in *The Man in the Moon*: "Hee hath not scene the insides of a church these seven yeares, unlesse with devotion to pick a pocket, or pervert some honest man's wife he would on purpose be *pued* withall" (Character of the Retainer; Percy Soc. Reprint, p. 25). Hence the word comes to mean partner, companion, as in Dekker and Webster, *Northward Ho*: "If he should come before a church-warden, he wud make him *pue-fellow* with a lord's steward at least" (Dekker's Works, vol. iil. p. 19). Dyce quotes from Wilson, *The Coblers Prophecie*, 1504, the following passage: "[Enter Raph and other prisoners with weapons] . . . *Sat* : . . . what are these?"

Raph: Faith certaine *pue-fellowes* of mine, that have bin mued vp" (sig. F 4).

505. Line 64: *Thy other Edward.*—So Qq. Ff. have *The*.

506. Lines 65, 66:

*Young York he is but boot, because both they
Match not the high perfection of my loss.*

So Qq. Ff. read *matcht* instead of *match*. The following explanation of the word *boot* is from Skene's Exposition of Difficill Words *sub voce*: "*Bote* . . . signifies compensation or satisfaction . . . and in all exambion, or crossing of lands or geare moveable, the ane¹ part that gettis the better, givis ane *Bote*, or compensation to the uther" (ed. 1641, p. 24). Compare *Winter's Tale*, iv. 4 090; and *Heywood*, I. *Edward IV.* iil. 1: "If I were so mad to score, what *boote* wouldst thou give me?" (Works, i. 44). The original meaning of the word is "good," "advantage," as in the phrase to *boot*. See note 644 *infra*.

507. Line 68: *And the beholders of this TRAGIC play.*—So Qq. Ff. have *franticks*.

508. Lines 71-73:

*Richard yet lives, hell's black intelligencer;
Only reserv'd THEIR factor, to buy souls,
And send them thither.*

1 One.

Their, the plural possessive, is here used with reference to *hell*, that word being given the sense of "powers of hell." In a similar way we often find *heaven* treated as a plural, e.g. v. 5. 21 *infra*; and see *Richard II.* note 50.

509. Line 78: *That I may live to say.*—So Qq. Ff. have *and* instead of *to*.

510. Line 84. *The presentation of but what I was.*—I suspect we should read:

The presentation but of what I was.

i.e. "merely the semblance of what I formerly was." The reference in this place is to i. 3. 241-240.

511. Line 86: *The flattering INDEX of a direful pageant.*—*Index*, in Shakespeare's time, meant the table of contents usually prefixed to a book. Stevens says that, at the pageants displayed on public occasions, a brief scheme or *index* of the order and significance of the characters was often distributed among the spectators, so that they might understand the meaning of what was, usually, an allegorical representation. In *Hamlet*, iil. 4. 52,

What act

That roars so loud and thunders in the *index*,

the word plainly means "prologue;" and this may perhaps be the meaning here, namely, that the *prologue* flattered the hearers with false promises of a happy conclusion.

512. Lines 88-90:

*A dream of what thou WERT; a breath, a bubble;
A sign of dignity, a garish flag
To be the aim of every dangerous shot.*

Ff. read as follows. --

A draine of what thou wast, a garish Flagge
To be the ayne of every dangerous Shot;
A sign of Dignity, a Breath, a Bulble;

The arrangement in the text is that of Qq., from which we also take the form *wert*, in line 88, instead of *wast*, the reading of Ff. here and also in line 107 *infra*.

513. Line 97: *DECLINE all this.*—*Declinare* apud grammaticos, says Minshew, est aliquid per casus variare (*Guide into Tongues, sub voce*). The word is used, in the text, in the sense which it has in grammar, of going through the variations of a subject, as Margaret does in the lines that follow. Compare *Troilus and Cressida*, ii. 3. 55: "I'll *decline* the whole question."

514. Lines 98-101:

Q. 1 prints this passage thus:

For happy wife, a most distressed widow,
For joyfull Mother, one that wailles the name,
For Queene, a verie Altive crown'd with care,
For one being sued to, one that humble sues,
For one commaunding all, obeyed of none,
For one that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me.

F. 1 prints it thus:

For happy Wife, a most distressed Widow:
For joyfull Mother, one that wailles the name:
For one being sued too, one that humbly sues;
For Queene, a very Caytiffe, crown'd with care:
For she that scorn'd at me, now scorn'd of me:
For she being feared of all, now fearing one:
For she commanding all, obey'd of none.

It is evident that some confusion has arisen in transcrib-

ing this passage, owing, probably, to some alteration or insertion having been made in the MS. by the author. Q. 1 omits line 103, and prints line 104 before 102. No object is gained by the omission of that one line; and line 104 is more in its place at the end of the passage, answering as it does to line 96, the last of Margaret's questions. On the other hand, F. 1 is, probably, wrong in printing in lines 102, 103, and 104, "For she" instead of "For one," and also in transposing lines 100, 101. The arrangement of the text we have given is the same as that of the Cambridge edd., who cannot, certainly, be accused of any inordinate partiality for the readings of F. 1.

In lines 102, 103, and 104 there is the same elliptical construction, *one* being omitted in the second part of all three sentences; but the meaning is sufficiently clear.

515. Line 120: *Think that thy babes were FAIRER than they were.* So Q. Ff. have *sweeter* instead of *fairer*; the latter epithet contrasts better with *fouler* in the next line.

516. Line 127: *Windy attorneys to their client woes* — Ff. here read *clients for client*, by a misprint which is very common. Qq. have *your for their*: no doubt the MS. from which Q. 1 was printed had *yr* (representing *their*, just as *ye* represented *the*), and the printer misread his copy. The text is that given by Hammer.

The meaning of the line is, words are the breathing agents through which woes, which in themselves are speechless, can act or be represented, in the same way as a client, who is powerless to speak for himself, is represented by an appointed agent or attorney. Malone quotes the very similar metaphor in *Venus and Adonis*, 333-336:

So of concealed sorrow may be said:

Free vent of worldly love's fire doth assuage;

But when the heart's attorney once is mute,

The client breaks, as desperate in his suit.

Compare also line 413 below:

Be the attorney of my love to her.

Shakespeare's fondness for legal metaphors and expressions has been pointed out more than once. See *Mids. Night's Dream*, note 11, and *Romeo and Juliet*, note 223.

517. Line 128: *Airy succeders of INTTESTATE joys* — So Qq. Ff. read *intestine*. Joys, already past, are regarded as having died without bequeathing any portion of their happiness, and so the *airy* words *succeed* to an empty inheritance.

518. Line 135: *I hear his drum.* — So Qq. Ff. read, "The Trumpet sounds."

519. Line 141: *Where should be branded.* — Ff. read *where's*; the correction is from Qq.

520. Line 142: *The slaughter of the wince that QW'D that crown.* — In Middle English *owe* (A. S. *agan*) means "possess;" the verb *own* (A. S. *gnytan*), which now has that signification, is a derivative of the possessive pronoun *own*, which originally was the passive participle of *owe*, and meant what is possessed by anyone. *To owe* afterwards came to signify "to possess someone else's property," and so "to be in debt," which is now its only meaning. Shakespeare often uses the word in its original signification.

521. Lines 169-172:

Tetchy and wayward was thy infancy;

Thy school-days frightful, desperate, wild, and furious;

Thy prime of manhood daring, bold, and venturous;

Thy age confirm'd, proud, subtle, sly, and bloody.

Qq. have, in line 172, "*bloody treacherous*" a reading which many editors adopt. We have kept the reading in Ff. because we feel sure that, in revising the play, Shakespeare would have been the first to avoid such a jingle as *venturous and treacherous* at the end of two successive lines. If we examine the whole of this speech, we shall find that it bears traces of being written in his earlier style. It begins with four lines of rhyme, and then — if we accept the Quarto reading — we should have three lines following with triasyllable endings, the two last of which would be very suggestive of a false quasi-rhyme. It is true that *sly* and *subtle* may seem somewhat tautological; but they are not more so than *desperate* and *wild*, or *daring* and *bold*, in the two preceding lines. Perhaps *sly*, and *bloody* was a hasty correction; but, surely, the latter epithet is the proper climax of the line. Those who prefer the Quarto reading may point to the passage in Hamlet's soliloquy, ii. 2. 609:

Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindless villain;

where there is perhaps a worse jingle in *treacherous and lecherous*; but it must be remembered that Hamlet is in a great passion at this point of his speech, while the duchess is here speaking, not under the influence of passion, but of solemn indignation. We should prefer, if we adopt the reading of Qq., to invert the order of the last two words; thus, *treacherous, bloody*.

522. Lines 174-177:

What comfortable hour canst thou name,

That ever grac'd me in thy company?

K Rich. Faith, none, but HUMPHREY HOUR, that

call'd your grace

To breakfast once forth of my company.

In line 175, *In* is the reading of Qq. Ff. have *with*.

None of the commentators have satisfactorily explained the point of this speech, assuming that it ever had one. F. 1 regarded "*Humphrey Hour*" as the name of a person, and therefore printed the two words in italics, the type in which it was then the rule to print all proper names. In Qq., however, the words "*Humphrey hour*" are printed in the same Roman type as the rest of the speech. It seems more likely that some particular hour or occasion was meant, than that *Humphrey Hour* should be simply the name of someone. Malone supposed that *Humphrey hour* was merely a fanciful phrase "*for hour*, like *Tom Troth* for *truth*, and twenty more such terms;" but this is hardly an adequate explanation. We could not substitute the mere word *hour* in this place. It may be that Richard here personifies and christens that hour which, on some particular day, summoned his mother to breakfast away from him. A similar explanation to this was suggested by Stevens (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 180); and he quotes the following passage from *The Wit of a Woman*, 1604: "Gentlemen, time makes us brief: our old mistress, *Hours*, is at hand." *Humphrey hour*, if it meant "hungry time" or "meal time," must have had some allusion to

the phrase "to dine with Duke Humphrey," which meant to go without one's dinner, like the gallants who, at the dinner hour, "keepe duke Humfrye company in Poules, because they know not where to get their dinners abroad" (Nash, *Prognostication*, for this year, &c., 1591). Mr. Kinnear indeed has proposed to read *th' hungry hour* (Cruces Shakespeareana, p. 270). But although this may indicate the sense of the passage, it can hardly be accepted as the genuine reading.

The cant expression *Humphrey* may refer to some other appetite than *hunger*. It would be quite in keeping with Richard's character and with his cynical indifference to common decency, that he should intend here an allusion to some scuffal against his mother. It must be confessed that he has received considerable provocation; and his next words seem to indicate that he could say more if further provoked.

523. Lines 184, 186:

EITHER THOU WILT *die*, *by* God's just ordinance,

Or I with grief an extreme age shall perish.

Either is to be pronounced as a monosyllable. Compare I. 2. 64, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, ii. 1. 32. Pope read *thou'lt* for *thou wilt*, but this is inadmissible, since the emphasis is on *thou*, which is opposed to *I* in line 186.

524. Line 188: *Therefore take with thee my most heavy curse.*—So Qq. Ff. have *greenous* for *heavy*.

525. Line 190: *Stay, madam; I must SPEAK a word with you.*—So Qq.; Ff. have *talke* instead of *speak*; perhaps the author intended to write: "I must talk awhile with you."

526. Lines 200, 201:

I have no more sons of the royal blood

For thee to MURDER: for my daughters, Richard.

We have preferred the reading of Q₁ here because it avoids the jingle of *slaughter* and *daughters*.

527. Lines 200-430.—See scene 3 lines 40-42 *supra*. It was during the Christmas of 1483 that Richmond, having escaped to Brittany, on the failure of Buckingham's rising, met Dorset and other of the insurgent leaders at Rennes, and promised them to make Elizabeth his queen so soon as he should obtain the crown of England. When the news of this reached Richard, "being sore dysmaled and in maper desperate, . . . he clerely determined to reconcile to his fauoure his brothers wife queene Elizabeth either by faire wordes or liberrall promises, firmly beleuyng, her fauour once obtained, that she would not stick to committe and louynglye credite to him the rule and gouernance both of her and her daughters." Accordingly, Hall continues (p. 406), he sent messengers to the queen where she lay in sanctuary, who so persuaded her by their reasoning and promises "that she began somewhat to relent and to geue to theim no deffe eare, insomuch that she faithfully promised to submyt and yelde her selfe fully and frankly to the kynges will and pleasure." This was in March, 1484. The next Christmas Richard's wife Anne fell sick, and he then at once offered his hand to Elizabeth. Shakespeare, in the present scene (see lines 520

and following, *infra*), throws together Buckingham's abortive rising in 1483 (when Richmond, having been separated from his fleet, failed to land on the Dorset coast), and Richmond's successful landing in August, 1485, at Milford Haven.

528. Lines 212-218.—In this passage, and in lines 343-361, below, we have examples of *επιχρησμός*, a fashion taken from the writers of the Greek tragedies, and already noted in I. Henry VI. note 207. Compare Two Gentlemen of Verona, I. 2, and III. Henry VI. note 200.

529. Line 212: *she is OF ROYAL BLOOD.*—So Qq. Ff. read "she is a *Royall Princess*."

530. Lines 227, 228:

No doubt the murderous knife was dull and blunt
Till it was whetted on thy stone-hard heart.

Compare II. Henry IV. iv. 5. 107, 108, and Merchant of Venice, note 282.

531. Line 230: *But that STILL use of grief makes wild grief tame*—Still as an adjective, with the meaning of "frequent" or "constant," is not very common. It occurs, however, in Titus Andronicus, iii. 2. 45:

And by still practice learn to know thy meaning.

532. Lines 250-261:

That thou dost love my daughter FROM thy soul:
So, from thy soul's love, didst thou love her brothers;
And, from my heart's love, I do thank thee for it.

Richard, in line 256, has said that he loves Elizabeth's daughter from his soul, meaning, with his whole heart. Elizabeth, in this passage, giving *from* the meaning of "outside of," says that his love neither is nor has been a love from within his heart. Such a use of the word *from*, though forced in the present instance, was not uncommon in Elizabethan English. Compare Twelfth Night, i. 5. 208: "This is from my commission;" i. e. "this is outside, not included in, my commission."

533. Line 267:

Q. Eliz. *What, thou?*

K. Rich. EVEN I: WHAT think you of it, madam?

This is Capell's reading. Q₁ have *I, even I*; Ff. read "Even so: How thinke you of it?"

534. Lines 276, 277:

which, say to her, did drain

The purple sap from her sweet brothers' BODIES.

Bodies is Rowe's correction for *body*, the reading of Ff. Qq. omit the passage.

535. Line 278: *And bid her WIPE her weeping eyes withal.*—So Ff., an infinitely better line, in spite of the alliteration, than the officious emendation of Q₁:

And bid her dry her weeping eyes therewith.

536. Lines 282, 283:

ay, and, for her sake,

Mad'at quick conveyance with her good aunt Anne.

See note 32 *supra*.

537. Lines 288-342.—The whole of this passage is omitted by Q₁.

538. Line 280: *Nay, then indeed she cannot choose but LOVE thee.*—This is Tyrwhitt's reading. *Fi.* have hate instead of love; but the correction is fully justified by the following line, as well as by line 279 *supra*.

539. Lines 303, 304:

groans

Endur'd of her, for whom you bid like sorrow.

The form *bid* of the past tense of *bide*—bear, endure, is unique in Shakespeare, and I have not met with an example of it elsewhere. The following example of the form *abid*=*abode*, the past tense of the verb *abide*, is given together with others in the Philological Society's Dictionary, *quod voce* ABIDE: "also Rome her self: the other name wherof to utter, is counted . . . an impious & unlawful thing; which . . . Valerius Soranus blurted out, & soon after *abid* the smart for it" (Pliny, *Naturall Historie*, Holland's translation, vol. i. p. 50).

540. Lines 310-315.—Hall, *ut supra*, note 527, says that the messengers whom Richard sent to Elizabeth "should so largely promes promotions innumerable and benefices, not onely to her but also to her sonne lorde Thomas Marques Dorcett, that they should brynge her yf it were possible into some wanhope, or as some men sale into a foolles paradise. And so she . . . sente letters to the marques her sonne beyng then at Parys with the erle of Richmonde, willynghe him in any wise to leaue the earle and without delate to repaire into England where, for him were prouided great honours and honorable promotions."

541. Lines 321-324:

*The liquid drops of tears that you have shed
Shall come again, transform'd to orient pearl,
ADVANTAGING their LOAN with interest
OF TEN-times double gain of happiness.*

F. 1 misprints *loue* for *lone* (i.e. loan) in line 323, and *often* for *ten* in line 324. The corrections are Capell's.

The tears shed are, as it were, a loan to the "distressful times;" they will be repaid in the shape of "orient pearls," the value of the loan being at the same time augmented by the addition of interest, in the shape of happiness, twenty times as great as the former sorrow. The noun *advantage* means "interest" or "profit," in *Merchant of Venice*, i. 3. 70, 71:

*Methought you said you neither lend nor borrow
Upon advantage;*

and from the noun thus used was derived the verb which we have in the present passage. Compare, with lines 321, 322, Two Gent. of Verona, iii. 1. 224:

A sea of melting pearl, which some call tears.

542. Line 348: *To wait the tiller, as her mother doth.*—So *Qq.* The word is misprinted *vaille* in *Fi.*

543. Line 355: *Say, I, her sovereign, am her subject LOVE.*—*Fi.* read "her Subject *love*." *Love* is from *Qq.* Pope reads *now*, which Walker approves.

544. Lines 363-365:

*Too deep and dead, poor infants, in their graves.
K. Rich. Harp not on that string, madam; that is past.
Q. Eliz. Harp on it still shall I till heart-strings break.*

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These lines are here given as they stand in *Q. 1.* *Q. 2* omits line 364, and gives line 365 to *King.* *Qq.* 3 and the following *Qq.* also omitted line 364, but made line 365 a continuation of Elizabeth's preceding speech. *F. 1* restored line 364, but placed it, wrongly, after line 366.

545. Line 366: *Now, by my GEORGE, my garters, and my crown.*—The George, as well as the garter, is part of the insignia of the order of the Garter. It is a figure of St. George on horseback, piercing the dragon with his lance. A similar design is borne on the reverse of the current sovereign; in fact it was the commonest way of depicting the saint. He is so represented, for instance, over the western door of the cathedral at Bale in Switzerland. The present passage is an anachronism, as is the similar one in II. Henry VI. iv. 1. 29.^o The George was not added to the insignia of the order till Henry VII.'s reign.

546. Line 368: *I swear.*—*Fi.* have *I sweare*. *Qq.*: "I sweare by nothing," having evidently taken the last two words by mistake from the beginning of next line.

547. Line 369: *Thy George, profan'd, hath lost his HOLY honour.*—So *Qq.* *Fi.* have *lordly*. Perhaps *saintly* would be a better epithet than either.

548. Lines 373-377:

Swear, then, by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

K. Rich. Then by myself,—

Q. Eliz. *Thyself is self-misus'd.*

K. Rich. Now, by the world,—

Q. Eliz. 'Tis full of thy foul wrongs.

K. Rich. My father's death,—

Q. Eliz. *Thy life hath that dishonour'd.*

K. Rich. Why, then, by God,—

This is the arrangement of *Fi.* In *Qq.* line 374 comes after line 376, and Elizabeth's answer runs: "Thy selfe thy selfe misuseth." The objection to this arrangement is that Richard's words, "Why, then, by God," following directly after "Then by myself," make him almost put himself on an equality with God. In the arrangement of *Fi.*, which we follow, Elizabeth refuses to believe Richard when swearing by the honours or dignities which he has usurped and degraded; she then says:

Swear, then, by something that thou hast not wrong'd.

Richard answers, half-mockingly: *Then by myself*, as though he would say: "You must admit that I have never wrong'd myself." Her retort rouses him to more seriousness in his next speech: *Now by the world.* *Fi.* to avoid profanity read *Heaven* instead of *God*, in line 377, as usual.

549. Lines 378-380:

*If thou hadst fear'd to break an oath by Him,
The unity the king THY brother made
Had not been broken, nor my brother slain.*

So *Qq.*, with the exception that all but *Q. 7*, *Q. 8* read my brother in line 379—a mistake arising no doubt from the occurrence of the words in the next line. *Fi.* read:

*If thou didst feare to breake an Oath with him,
The unity the King my husband made,
Thou hadst not broken, nor my Brother died.*

This is one of the passages to which Mr. Daniel refers (*Introd. to Reprint of Q. 1*, p. xvii. note), in support of his

contention that the original author of the play thought Grey to be one of the queen's brothers (see note 221 *supra*). The reading *husband* was, of course, an attempt to correct the obvious error *my brother*; for it was Edward who tried to reconcile the opposing factions (see act ii. sc. 1). But here, as in other instances, the wrong word was altered.

550. Lines 335, 336:

Which now, TOO tender BEDFELLOWS for dust,

• Thy broken faith hath made A prey for worms.

So Capell, adopting a conjecture by Roderick. The apparent antithesis between *dust* and *worms* can hardly have been intentional. Both Qq. and Ff. read *two*, but this is very likely only a printer's error. The words *to, too*, and *two* seem to have often been confounded by the old printers. Qq. read *playfellows*; Ff. *bed fellows*. In line 336 Ff. read *the* for *a*.

551. Line 392: *Unforgotten youth, to wait it in their age.*

—This is the reading of the first four Quartos. Q. 5 misprinted *with* for *in*, and the mistake was copied in Ff.

552. Line 396: *Misus'd ere us'd, by TIME MISUS'D O'ER-PAST.*—So Qq. Ff. read:

Misus'd ere us'd, by times ill-us'd repast

The printer no doubt, as Rolfe says, meant to have given *orepast*—as he did in line 338—and the first letter slipped out.

553. Lines 398, 399:

my dangerous ATTEMPT

Of hostile arms!

So Qq. • Ff. have *affaires* for *attempt*.

554. Line 403: *with PURE heart's love.*—So Qq. Ff. have *deere*.

555. Lines 407, 408:

Without her, follows to MYSELF AND THEE,
HERSELF, THE LAND, and many a Christian soul.

So Ff. The reading of Qq. is:

Without her follows to *this land and me,*
• To thee, her self, and manie a Christian soule.

The reading of Ff. preserves the climax better; for Richard means to say that the calamities, which will result from his failure to secure his right to the throne, will not only affect them personally and their country, but also many others.

556. Lines 424, 425:

Where, in that NEST OF SPICERY, they shall breed
Selves of themselves, to your RECOMFORTURE.

There is an allusion, as Steevens pointed out, to the fable of the phoenix; at the end of every thousand years it made itself a funeral pile of myrrh and spices, upon which it was consumed, and another was said to be born out of its ashes. Mr. Green (Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers, p. 330) quotes from An Elegie, or Friends Passion, for his Astrophill, the following lines:

The Phoenix left sweet Arabia;
And on a cedar, in this coast,
Built up her tomb of spicerie. •

—The Phoenix Nest, 1593 (Park's reprint, 1814, p. 3).

Recomforture occurs nowhere else in Shakespeare. He

uses the participle *recomforted* once, in *Coriolanus*, v. 4. 51. Cotgrave explains *recomfort* as "great solace, or comfort, much consolation;" and Baret, *Alvearie*, *sub voce*, has "Thou hast reuiv'd my spirite, or *recomforted* my hart. Reddidisti animum. Ter." Qq. read *recomforture*.

557. Lines 432-537.—In October, 1484, when the breach between Buckingham and Richard happened, the duke, Hall says (p. 393), "ymmediately prepared open warre agaynste hym [cf. iv. 3. 47, 48], and perswaded all his complices and partakers that every man shoulde in his quarter with all diligence reyse vp the people and make a commocion. And by this meanes, almooste in one momente Thomas Marques Dorset [having come] out of sanctuary where he sith the begynnynge of Richardes daies had continued, whose life by the onely helpe of sir Thomas Louell esquier was preserued from all daunger and perell . . . gathered together a greate bande of men in Yorkshire. Sir Edward Courtney and Peter his brother bishop of Exeter, reised another army in deunshire and cornewall. In kente, Richard Gylforde and other gentlemen, collected a great compaigne of souldyours and oponly beganne warre." Following Hall's account, Shakespeare represents Richard as setting out with an army to oppose Buckingham; see iv. 3. 56, and line 136 of the present scene. We now gather from lines 443, 450, that Richard is going to Salisbury, in order (as Hall shows) first of all to overthrow the army of Buckingham, the leader of the insurrection. Richmond, who had sailed from St. Malo, reached Poole in Dorsetshire, but his fleet had been scattered by tempest, and no landing was made on account of the apparent hostility of those on shore. The courtship of Princess Elizabeth took place in 1485; but Shakespeare, for reasons which it is not hard to discern, chose to regard this unsuccessful rising, in 1484, as belonging to the same year with the insurrection by which Richmond gained the throne in 1485. According to Hall's account of this latter event (p. 410): "the erle . . . arryved in Wales in the euenyng [of August 7] at a porte called Mylford Haven and in continēt tooke land and came to a place called Dalle². . . And . . . at the sonne ryasyng remoued to harford west, where he was applauded and receaued of the people with great ioye." The statement of Richmond's arrival in Dorsetshire comes in, rather unintelligibly, in line 521, when everywhere else he is said to be on the western coast.

Shakespeare places the scene in *London*, but "Kynge Rychard at this season," Hall says (p. 412), "kepyng his howse in the castell of *Nottingham*. . . sent to Ihon duke of Norfolk, Henry earle of Northumberlande, Thomas earle of Surrey and to other of his especiall and trusty frendes of the nobilitie . . . wyllynge theim to mustre" their servants and tenants and "repaire to his presence with all spede and diligence."

¹ Hall says "came," but he misunderstands Polydore Virgil's words, which are: "uno fere momento ac tempore, Thomas marchio Dorsetrix de asylo egressus, ac ab omni periculo, opera Thomæ Rouelli seruatus . . . agros passim incolentes ad arma concitat, initiumque belli facit" (lib. xxv.).

² Perhaps West Dale Point, about 2½ miles north-west of St. Anne's Head, and very nearly the distance named from Haverfordwest.

555. Lines 434, 435:

to THE SHORE

Throng many doubtful hollow-hearted friends.

So Qq. Ff. read "to our shores."

556. Line 443: *Fly to the duke.*—[To Ratcliff] *Post thou to Salisbury*—So Qq. Neither they nor Ff. mark Catesby's entrance until line 530. Ff. read:*Rich. Catesby, flye to the Duke**Cat. I will, my Lord, with all convenient haste.**Rich. Catesby come hither, poste to Salisbury.*

Catesby, in Richard's second speech, is an evident mistake for Ratcliff. But the interposed speech for Catesby weakens the force of the passage.

560. Line 466: *Stirr'd up by Dorset, Buckingham, and ELY.*—So Qq. Ff. read *Morton* instead of *Ely*.561. Line 470: *What heir of York is there alive but we?*—Richard had been declared the undoubted heir of Richard, Duke of York, his father. A stronger claim would have belonged to the daughters of Edward IV., and to the two children of George, Duke of Clarence; but, as Ritson noticed, Edward's children had been pronounced illegitimate, and Clarence's attainder for high treason excluded the claim of his issue. See note 4 *supra*.562. Line 482: *No, my good lord, my friends are in the north*—Stanley's lands were in Cheshire and Lancashire; he had, too, considerable power in North Wales. For what follows see note 18.563. Line 489: *AY, AY, thou wouldst be gone to join with Richmond.*—So Qq., except that both they and Ff. use *I* instead of *ay*. Ff., most probably by accident, omit the first *ay*.564. Line 490: *I will not trust you, sir.*—So Qq. Ff. have *But I'll not trust thee*.

565. Lines 490, 500:

*Sir Edward Courtney, and the haughty prelate
Bishop of Exeter, his elder BROTHER*See note 557. These Courtneys or Courtenays were, however, not brothers, but cousins (French, p. 240) Qq. have *brother there* for *elder brother*.

566. Lines 503, 504.

*every hour more COMPETITORS**Flock to the rebels*Shakespeare nearly always uses the word *competitor* with the unusual meaning of "associate," not "rival."

567. Line 512:

No man knows whither.

K. Rich.

*Oh, I cry THEE mercy.*Pope inserted *Oh*, which Ff. omit. Qq., which have a different and very faulty version of the whole passage (506-513), read: "O I cry you mercede."

ACT IV. SCENE 5.

568. Lines 2, 3:

*in the sty of THIS most BLOODY boar,
My son George Stanley is frank'd up in hold.*

230

So Qq. Ff. have "the most deadly. As regards *frank'd up*, see note 151 *supra*.

569. Lines 6-8:

*So, get thee gone; commend me to thy lord:**Say that the queen hath heartily consented**He should espouse Elizabeth her daughter.*Qq., which most editors follow, omit these lines here, inserting lines 7 and 8 after line 19 *infra*. But the arrangement of Ff. is, on the whole, the best. Urswick wants Stanley to declare for Richmond. Stanley answers that he cannot do so openly at present, and then, before sending him off, communicates the important news of Elizabeth's consent to the proposed marriage of her daughter to Richmond. This announcement comes much more properly at the beginning of the scene than thrust in, as a mere afterthought, at the end.We have omitted *withall*, which Ff. prefix at the beginning of line 7.

570. Lines 12-15, 17:

SIR WALTER HERBERT, a renowned soldier;

SIR GILBERT TALBOT, SIR WILLIAM STANLEY;

OXFORD, redoubt'd PEMBROKE, SIR JAMES BLUNT,

And RICE AP THOMAS, with a valiant crew;

*And towards London they do bend their course.*Hall says that while Richmond was at Haverfordwest, "Arnold Buttlar a valiant captain, . . . declared to hym that the penbrochians were ready to serve and geue their attendaunce on their natural and immediate lord Iasper erle of Pembroke" (p. 410). While advancing from Carmarthen, "sodeynly he was by his espialles asser- teyned¹ that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas were in harness before hym ready to encountre wyth hys armye and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore . . . he firste determyned to sett on theim. . . . But to thetent his frendes shoulde knowe wyth what dexterite his attempted entrepryce proceeded forwarde, he senté . . . letters . . . to the ladye Margarete his mother, to the Lorde Stanley and his brother, to Talbote and to other his trustie frenche, declarynge to theim, that he . . . intended to passe over ye ryuer of Seuerne at Shrewsbury, and so to passe directly to the cite of London." While marching towards Shrewsbury "there met and saluted him Rice ap Thomas, with a goodly bad of Welshmen whiche . . . submitted himselfe whole to his ordre and commaundement." This man and Sir Walter Herbert, Hall says (p. 412), ruled Wales "with egall powre and lyke authoritee;" Richard opposed them both to be faithful to his cause. Richmond having reached Newport, "In the euenynge, the same daie came to hym sir George Talbot with the whole powre of the younge Earle of Shrewsbury [his elder brother] then beyng in warde, which were accompted to the number of two thousande men. And thus his powre increasyng he arrayned at the towne of Stafford and there pawaed. To¹ Informed.² Hall here calls his personage Gedage, but *infra*, p. 414, gives him his right name of Gilbert. He led the right wing at the battle of Bosworth. See note 594.

whom came Sir Wyllyam Stanley accompanied with a fewe persones" (Hall, p. 411, copying Polydore Virgil). The Earl of Oxford and Sir James Blunt had joined Richmond at Paris. (See notes 16 and 24 *supra*.) It does not appear at what time Sir Walter Herbert joined Richmond, or whether he did more than keep aloof from Richard.

ACT V. SCENE 1.

571. Line 1.—For particulars of Buckingham's capture see note 10. The date of his execution was 2d November, 1483. Johnson proposed to add this scene to the preceding act: but surely that act is long enough already. It would be better to have quited it before the entrance of Ratcliff in scene 4, line 491.

572. Line 2: *No, my good lord; therefore be patient.*—This line, and the other speech of the Sheriff's (line 11), are given in Qq. to Ratcliff. But it was John Mytton, Sheriff of Shropshire, who arrested Buckingham. There is no historical ground for supposing Ratcliff to have been present, though as he was always ready to do Richard's dirty work, he would certainly, dramatically speaking, not be out of place in this scene.

573. Line 3: *Rivers, Grey.*—So Qq. Ff. have *Gray and Rivers*.

574. Line 4: *HOLY King Henry.* King Henry VI. was not absolutely canonized, though miracles were said to have taken place at his tomb, and he was regarded as a saint by many people. Henry VII. would have canonized him, but that motives of economy prevailed.

575. Line 5: *miscarried.*—For the use of *miscarried* in this sense, compare II. Henry IV. iv. 1. 120:

Have since *miscarried* under Bolingbroke.

576. Lines 10, 11:

This is All-Souls' day, FELLOW, is it not?

• Sheriff. *It is.*

So Ff. Qq. have *fellows*, as if Buckingham addressed all the guards; they also add *My Lord* to the Sheriff's answer. Dyce prefers the reading of Qq., and in a note (94) he contends that "it seems rather odd that Buckingham should call the Sheriff 'fellow,' and as odd that the Sheriff (see his preceding speech) should reply as curtly." But there seems no reason why Buckingham should address the question to all the guard. *Fellow* is generally used by a superior to an inferior. It is quite possible that the Sheriff might resent that mode of address; in which case, in answering, he would not give Buckingham his title.

577. Line 12: *Why, then ALL-SOULS' DAY is my body's DOOMSDAY.*—The 2d November is the day which the Roman Catholic Church keeps in honour of all the departed. For *doomsday*=the day of a person's death, compare Romeo and Juliet v. 3. 234:

Their stolen marriage day was Tybalt's *doomsday*.

578. Lines 13-15.—See II. i. 29-40.

579. Line 20: *That high All-seeer WHICH I dallied with.*—Which is frequently used for *who* or *whom*, as in the

first sentence of the Church of England's version of the Lord's Prayer. Qq. have *that*.

580. Line 25: *Thus Margaret's curse FALLS HEAVY ON MY NECK.*—The reference in this and the subsequent line is to i. 3. 280-303. The reading in the text is that of Ff. Qq. have: *is fallen upon my head*.

581. Line 28: *Come, SIRS, CONVEY ME to the block of shame*—This is the reading of Qq. Ff. have: "Come lead me *officers*."

ACT V. SCENE 2.

582.—From Shrewsbury (see above, note 570) Richmond marched to Lichfield, and from Lichfield to Tamworth. The latter place is about five-and-twenty miles in a straight line westward from Leicester. Market Bosworth, lying about half-way between Tamworth and Leicester, is in Leicestershire, about five miles from the borders of that county and Warwickshire. The meeting between Henry and his father-in-law took place at Atherstone, a small town about nine or ten miles to the south-east of Tamworth, and about eight miles to the south-west of Market Bosworth. Stanley had retired to Atherstone when he heard that Richmond was marching from Wales to Lichfield, in order to avoid suspicion; as he wished Richard, who held his son George as a hostage, to believe that he was still favourable to the king's cause. From the account given in Hall (p. 413) it would appear that Richmond got separated from his army when near Tamworth, and had to pass the night in a small village about three miles from that town. At the dawn of the next day he rejoined his army; but left them almost immediately to go to Atherstone in order to meet his stepfather.

583. Line 7: *THE WRETCHED, bloody, and usurping boar.*—Walker says (vol. iii. p. 175) that *wretched* is palpably wrong, and Collier's Old Corrector calmly altered it to *reckless*. *Wretched* is certainly generally used in a contemptuous sense; but it is also used as an epithet applied to villains, just as *wretch* itself is used of a very wicked person. Compare Othello, v. 1. 41, where Roderigo says: "O *wretched* villain!" evidently meaning *lago*; and, a still more forcible instance, Lucrece, line 999:

Such *wretched* hands such *wretched* blood should spill:
both *hands* and *blood*, in this case, being Tarquin's.

584. Lines 8, 9:

*That SPOIL'D your summer fields and fruitful vines,
SWILLS your warm blood like wash.*

Capell altered *spoil'd* to *spoils*, and Pope printed *swill'd* instead of *swills*; but the sudden change from the past to the present tense is common enough in Shakespeare, and indeed in all poets. Poetry would be terribly crippled if such a reasonable license as this were not permitted.

585. Line 10: *this foul SWINE.*—Shakespeare uses *swine*, in the singular, in four other passages; for instance in Love's Labour's Lost, iv. 2. 91: "pearl enough for a *swine*."

586. Line 11: *LIES now even in the centre of this isle.*—So Qq.; Ff. have, "Is now."

587. Line 17: *Every man's conscience is a thousand MEN.*—So F1; Qq. have *swords*, which many editors prefer. Blackstone pointed out that the line is a paraphrase of the well-known proverb: *Conscientia mille testes.* *Men* is more likely to have been in the original text than *swords*.

ACT V. SCENE 3.

588.—The first two portions of this scene (lines 1-46) are usually omitted on the stage; and the remainder is divided into two separate scenes, the one representing the tent of Richard, the other that of Richmond. As represented on the stage in Shakespeare's time, this scene could not but be open to ridicule; for the tents of Richard and Richmond must have been close together, and the hostile armies, or as much of them as were impersonated, must have been rubbing shoulders together all the night before the battle. Rolfe quotes from Grant White what appears to us a very foolish note on this subject. "We now, by the aid of scene-painters and carpenters, and at the sound of the prompter's whistle, separate the representatives of York and Lancaster by certain yards of coloured canvas, and our stage ghosts address themselves to Richard only; and there are those who, forgetting that the stage does not, never can, and should not if it could, represent the facts of real life, think that we have gained greatly by the change." Certainly the effect of the modern stage-arrangement is that the ghosts "address themselves to Richard only;" but we believe Shakespeare would have been the first to recognize the fact that the dramatic force of the situation is thereby increased, and that his poetry only suffered by being spoken amid surroundings which distracted, by their ridiculous incongruity, the minds of the audience from the language of the characters, and from the incidents represented. It would be just as sensible to regret the time when perspective was unknown, and when painters necessarily represented objects, whether near or distant, in the same plane, as to affect to sigh over the times when the want of any stage machinery prevented the dramatist from having appropriate scenes for the action of his play.

589. Line 7: *Up with my tent! here will I lie to-night*—F1 and Q. 7, 8 have, *Up with my tent!* but the first six quartos have, "I'll with my tent *there*!" inserting the word *there*, which is quite unnecessary and spoils the rhythm of the line, but is, nevertheless, rigidly preserved by the fanatical worshippers of Q. 1. It is just the sort of insertion that anyone ignorant of rhythm would have made.

590. Line 11: *battalia*.—See foot-note. Qq. have *battalion*. Shakespeare only uses that word in one other passage, Hamlet, iv. 5. 78, 79:

they come not single spies,
But in *battalions*;

where F. 1, F. 2 have distinctly *battaliaes*; Qq. have *battaliaes*; F. 3, F. 4 *battels*. It is quite possible that the word, which is a merely anglicized form of the Italian *battaglia*, meant little more than *battle*, when used in the sense of "the main body of the army." Compare III. Henry VI. i. 1. 8, "Charg'd our main *battle's* front."

591. Line 19.—Among those who have come on with Richmond F1. have *Dorset*, and Hall's words (see note 587) would seem to justify this; but *Dorset* was in France at this time. See note 14.

592. Line 22: *Sir William Brandon*.—This was the son of Sir William Brandon by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Robert Wingfield. He was the father of Charles Brandon, who was treated with great favour by Richmond when he came to the throne, and became one of Henry VIII.'s chosen companions in his youth, both as prince and king. Charles Brandon was created Duke of Suffolk, and he is one of the characters in Henry VIII. *Sir William Brandon* was killed by Richard's own hand in a furious onslaught at the battle of Bosworth. Hall says (p. 418): "Kynge Rycharde set on so sharply at the first Broutt y^e he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer."

593. Lines 23-26.—In Qq. these lines are inserted between lines 44 and 45; and lines 27, 28, and 43 are omitted. There can be no doubt that the arrangement in F1. is the right one.

594. Lines 27-34.—Hall (p. 414) gives the following account of the circumstances referred to in this passage: "In the morning be time he caused his men to put on there armure & appareyl the selves redy to fight & geue battail, & sent to y^e lord Stanley (which was now come wth his bade in a place indifferently betwene both y^e armies) requyryng him wth his mō to appoche nere to his army & to help to set y^e soullours in array, he answered y^e therle should set his awne mō in a good order of bataille while he would array his cōpaigny, & cōmēto him in time conuenient. Which answer made otherwise then therle thought or would haue ludged, considering y^e oportunitie of the time & the waite of y^e busines, & although he was there wall, a litle vexed, began somewhat to hang y^e hedde, yet he wout any time delayng compelled by necessite, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his forward somewhat single and slender, accordyng to y^e small nōber of his people. In y^e Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made captain l^ho erle of Oxford: to the right wyng of y^e battail he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbot to be y^e leder: to y^e left wyng he assigned Sir l^ho^r Saunge, & he wth y^e aide of y^e lord Staley accompaigned with therle of Penbroke hauyng a good compaignie of horsmen and a small number of footmen. For all his hole nōber exceeded not v. thousande men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof. iij. thousande were in the felde vnder the stādard of sir William Stanley: The kynges number was doble as muche & more."

595. Lines 47, 48:

What? is 't o'clock?
Cate. *It's supper-tyme, my lord;*
It's nine o'clock.

Q. 1. has: *It is sixe of clocke, full supper time.*

Nine o'clock would certainly be a late hour for supper in Richard's time. But we know from Richmond's speech (see above, line 19) that the sun had already set; and, as it

was the 22nd August, it must have been now at least two hours later than six o'clock.

596. Line 49: *Give me some ink and paper.*—Pope omitted this broken line on the ground that Richard asked later (line 74), *Is ink and paper ready?* But it will be noticed that throughout this scene Richard's manner is abrupt and hurried, which was undoubtedly intended by the dramatist to show how preoccupied his mind was at this crisis of his fate.

597. Lines 58, 59:

K. Rich. *Catesby*—

Cate. *My lord?*

K. Rich.

Send out a purnuivant-at-arms.

Qq. have:

K. R. & H. Catesby!

Rat. *My lord.*

Ff.:

K. Rich. Ratcliffe.

Rat. *My lord.*

It seems pretty evident, that there was here a confusion, by no means uncommon, as to the name prefixed to one of the speeches. It is possible that the dramatist first intended Richard to address *Ratcliff* here, but afterwards changed his mind. Qq. and Ff. agree in reading *Ratcliff* in lines 68 and 76 below.

598. Line 63: *Give me a watch.*—This is generally explained, as in our foot-note, to mean "watch-light," or "watching-candle." Barot, 1573, gives under *Watch* "*Watching Lampes or candels*;" and Minshew, 1599, gives, under *Candles*, "*a watch Candle*." These candles were supposed to be marked in certain divisions, each division being calculated to burn a certain time. Allusion to *lights* is made in line 180 below. "*The lights burn blue*." Otherwise there would seem to be no reason why *watch* should not mean a timepiece. Shakespeare makes mention of *watches* in several places, e.g. *Twelfth Night*, II. 5. 66: "wind up my *watch*." This is the only place, however, where he makes any allusion to *watch* or *watching* candles.

599. Line 64: *Saddle WHITE SURREY for the field to-morrow.*—Hall says (p. 412) that Richard was "mounted on a greate white courser." The name would appear to have been invented by Shakespeare.

600. Line 65: *Look that my STAVES be sound, and not too heavy.*—It was the custom to carry more than one spear or lance into battle. Planché says (vol. i. p. 474) under *Spear*: "the longer [was] used by the cavalry, or by the foot to repel their advances; the shorter, for close combat, or to be hurled as a javelin." . . . "Strictly speaking, however, the lance was the special weapon of the knight, and the spear of the foot soldier."

601. Line 67: *Saw'st thou the melancholy LORD NORTHUMBERLAND?*—This was Henry Percy, fourth Earl of Northumberland, son of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, in III. Henry VI. (See note 7 on that play.) He was kept prisoner in the Tower from 1461 to 1469, when Edward IV. restored him to his honours, creating John Lord Montague, who had in the interim been Earl of Northumberland, Marquis of Montagu. (See III. Henry

VI. note 16.) In 1463 King Richard appointed him Lord High Chamberlain of England; but, in spite of this mark of the usurper's favour, Northumberland does not seem ever to have been sincerely attached to his cause. In 1485, on hearing of Richmond landing in Wales, Richard summoned Northumberland to attend him with all the forces he could raise in the north. Hall says of him (p. 419): Among those who submitted to Richmond was "Henry the. iiii. erle of Northumberlande, whiche whither it was by the commaundement of kyng Rycharde puttyng diffidence in him, or he dyd it for the lous & fauor that he bare vnto the Earle, stode still with a greate compaignie and intermitted not in the battail, which was incontinently receyued in to fauour and made of the counsaill." He came to a tragic end. Having been directed by Henry VII. to raise a heavy subsidy in the north, he applied in vain for an abatement, which was refused by the king; and the populace, holding him responsible for the imposition of the tax, murdered him and several of his servants at Cocklodge, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, 28th April, 1489. For a full account of this nobleman, see Collins's *Peerage*, vol. ii. pp. 279-301. He married Maude, sister of the Earl of Pembroke, and among the children he had by her was Sir William Percy, who was one of the commanders at Flodden.

As for the epithet *melancholy*, Malone says: "Richard calls him *melancholy*, because he did not join heartily in his cause" (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 213). This is not a satisfactory explanation. No similar use of the word occurs anywhere else. It looks very much as if it was not the epithet the author really used. It may possibly mean "suspicious."

602. Line 68: *COCK SHUT time.*—Grose (*sub voce*) in his *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, 1785, explains this word as "that time of the evening when fowls go to roost." But this explanation, however obvious and plausible, is not the right one. A *cock shut* was, apparently, a kind of large clap-net, used for catching woodcocks in the twilight. This is the explanation given, originally, by Whalley in his note upon the lines in Ben Jonson's *The Satyre*:

For you would not yesternight
Kiss him in the *cock-shut* light

—Works, vol. vi. p. 473.

Gifford explains the word, in his usual dogmatic style, without any reference to authorities, as "a large net suspended between two long poles, and stretched across a glade, or riding, in a wood, where a man is placed to watch when the birds rise, or strike against it." The expression occurs in two or three passages in old plays, most of which are quoted in the Var. Ed. vol. xix. pp. 213, 214. It might reasonably be doubted whether the meaning given by Whalley is the right one; but two passages, quoted by Steevens (Var. Ed. vol. xix. p. 214), seem to settle the question; the first being taken from "No Whipping nor Tripping: but a kinde friendly Snippinge," 1601:

A silly honest creature may do well
To watch a *cock-shoot*, or a lured bush;

the second from "The Treatise of Fishynge with the Angles, by Dame Juliana Barnes, 1496," where "among the directions to make a fishing rod is the following:

'Take thence and frette him faste with a cockeshote corde.'" From this it would appear that this kind of net was common enough, and that a particular size of cord was used for it. This derivation of *cockshut* is confirmed by Yarrell, who says (vol. ii. p. 587): "Towards night it (the woodcock) sallies forth on silent wing, pursuing a well-known track through the cover to its feeding-ground. These tracks or open glades in woods, are sometimes called *cockshoots*, and cockroads, and it is in these places that *nets* were formerly suspended for their capture."

603. Line 71: *I'm satisfied.—Give me a bowl of wine.*—We have followed Capell in transferring the word *So*, which stands at the beginning of this line in Qq. Ff., to line 74 below, where a syllable seems certainly required at the beginning of the line.

604. Lines 72, 73.—These lines are evidently suggested by the passage in Hall (p. 414) quoted in note 594 above.

605 Lines 80–82:

*All comfort that the dark night can afford
Be to thy person, noble FATHER-IN-LAW!
Tell me, how fares our LOVING mother!*

Stanley was Richard's stepfather.—the word *father-in-law* is frequently used in the same sense nowadays—having married his mother as his second wife. (See above, note 18.) Q. 1, Q. 2 have "*loving mother*;" the rest of the old copies *noble*, an obvious mistake of the copyist, being a repetition of the epithet in the line above.

606 Lines 85, 86:

*The silent hours steal on,
And flaky darkness breaks within the east.*

The accuracy of this description will be recognized by anyone who has ever watched the break of dawn, in the country, long before the sun rises above the horizon after a starless night. The mass of darkness begins to break into irregular pieces shaped like snow-flakes.

607. Line 90: MORTAL-STARING *war*.—Several emendations have been proposed for this epithet, which is sufficiently expressive and needs no alteration. The two words are not hyphenated in the old copies. There may be a reminiscence of the Medusa's head in this description of war; or it may refer to the fixed and fierce stare seen in the face of a man fighting for his life.

608 Line 95: *thy brother, tender George*.—The chroniclers represent *George Stanley* as a young boy; but he really was a grown man. Some account of him will be found in note 18. It should be added that he bore the title of Lord Strange in right of his wife. At this time he was already married, and had been made a Knight of the Bath by Edward IV.

609. Lines 97, 98:

*the LEISURE and the fearful time
Cuts off the ceremonious vows of love.*

Compare Richard II. 1. 1. 5:

Which then our *Leisure* would not let us hear;

and below, line 238.

The leisure and enforcement of the time.

610. Line 104: *I'll strive, with troubled THOUGHTS, to take a nap*.—So Qq.; Ff. have "with troubled *noies*," which Grant White altered to "troubled *with noise*." The reading of Qq. is decidedly preferable here; although Grant White defends the reading of Ff., or rather his alteration of it, on the ground that Shakespeare represented Richmond "as entirely untroubled in mind, and sure of victory from the time when he first appears upon the scene" (Rolfe, p. 240). But surely this is rather an exaggeration. Richmond was not troubled in his conscience as Richard was; but he must have had plenty of anxiety, as, indeed, he has already shown in his anxiety to see Stanley (see above, v. 3. 39–41). The expression *take a nap* occurs only in one other passage in Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, v. 1. 52: "let your bounty *take a nap*." In *Taming of the Shrew*, Sly says (Ind. ii. 83): "by my fay, a *godly nap*."

611. Lines 110–112.—The image here is taken from the heavy *maces* used in battle with most crushing effect.

612. Line 116: *Ere I let fall the windows of mine eyes*.—Compare Rom. and Jul. iv. 1. 190: "thy *eyes' windows* fall," and Love's Labour's Lost, v. 2. 848:

Behold the *window* of my heart, *mine eye*.

613. Line 118.—Shakespeare was indebted for this powerful scene, where the ghosts of his victims appear to the guilty Richard, to a suggestion in the chroniclers. Hall (p. 414) says, copying Polydore Virgil: "The fame went that he had the same night a dreadful & terrible dreame, for it seemed to hym beyng a sleepe y^e he sawe diuerse ymagis lyke terrible deuilles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyet or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadful and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beyng almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vaynege the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenance as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause loked so piteously, he recited and declared to hys famylyer frendes in the morenyng hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dreame. But I thinke this was *no* dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience."

614. Line 125: *By thee was PUNCHED full of deadly holes*.—This line is one of the worst in all Shakespeare. One can scarcely believe he ever wrote it; for even admitting that *punched* did not bear, at that time, the more vulgar sense that it has now, the whole expression is strikingly unpoetical. The only instances that seem to have been found of a similar use of this word are in Chapman's Homer's Iliad, bk. vi. line 126: "with a good he *punch'd* each furious dame;" a passage where the poet is referring to the attack made by Lycurgus, king of the Edones, on Bacchus and his following of women; also in Marston's Antonio's Revenge (2nd part of Antonio and Mellida), act i. sc. 3, where it is written *pauicht*:

Three part of night were swallowed in the gulfe
Of ravenous time, when to my slumbring powers

Two meager ghosts made apparition.

The one's breast seem'd fresh *punctured with bleeding wounds*,
Whose bubbling gore sprang in [my] frightened eyes.

—Works, vol. i. p. 80.

Baret gives in his *Alvearie*, 1573, under *punch*, "see To punish." Palsgrave, 1530, gives: "I PUNCHE. *Je bouble je pousse*," *rylm conj.* Whye *punchest* thou me with thy *tyst* on this *facyon*?"

615. Line 130: *Thee in thy sleep doth comfort: live and flourish.*—Qq. have:

Doth comfort thee in *thy* sleep: live and flourish!

While Ff. omit *thy*. Rowe adopted the reading of Ff. and inserted "live" *think*. There are several other conjectural emendations. The one in our text, which we have ventured to print, is simply a rearrangement of the first part of the sentence as given in Qq, and avoids the awkwardness of the accent falling on *thy*.

616. Line 132: *I, that was wash'd to death* WITH FULSOME wine.—So all the old copies, except F. 3, F. 4, which have "in fulsome wine." Dyce (note 100) proposed "wash'd in death," because Clarence was not drowned in the malmsey, but stabbed before he was thrown into the malmsey-butt. However, on reference to the description of his murder, we find that it is not quite certain that he was dead when thrown into the butt of malmsey. See i. 4. 276, 277:

Ay, thus, and thus (*starts him*): if all this will not do,
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within.

The exact force of *fulsome* here is rather doubtful. *Malmsey* was a rich, luscious wine, of which one would not care to drink much. The sense given in our foot-note is the nearest we can find, if the word is supposed to convey any idea of nauseousness. If, on the other hand, the idea intended to be conveyed by the epithet is that of "excess," "over-fulness," it may refer to the large quantity of wine.

617. Line 134: *Let fall thy lance: despair, and die!*—So Qq. Ff. It would seem that the epithet to *lance* has been omitted here; compare line 135 above:

And fall thy *edgeless* sword: despair, and die!

Pointless is the epithet which would occur to nearly everyone to suggest, and, therefore, we are not surprised to find that it is supplied by Collier's Old Corrector. *Hurtless* is Capell's conjecture. Neither word occurs elsewhere in Shakespeare. One might suggest other epithets; but it is possible that the line is intentionally defective, as well as line 148, just below (see next note). These lines are the last lines spoken by the ghosts to Richard before turning to Richmond. It will be also noticed that the words *despair, and die!* are repeated by every ghost as the last words said to Richard. These would be preceded or accompanied, doubtless, by a solemn and menacing gesture, which would serve to fill up the hiatus in the line; the hiatus being of the same nature as that of a *rest* in music (see Richard II. note 170, and John, note 312). It is in favour of the theory that the omission of the epithet was intentional that none of Qq. or Ff. should have attempted to supply it. There is another way in which the line might be rendered complete, and that is by the actor repeating the word *despair*.

618. Line 148: *Think on Lord Hastings: despair, and die!*—Here again most of the editors insist upon inserting a syllable to complete the line. Collier's ingenious Old Corrector again distinguishes himself by inserting *so* before *despair*, which is certainly an improvement on the *and* of Pope. Again we prefer to print the line as it stands in all the old copies.

619. Line 151: The Ghosts of the two young Princes rise.—It is worth pointing out that in Q. 1, Q. 2, the Ghosts of the two young Princes appear before the ghost of Hastings. In all the other old copies they appear *after*, which is more natural, as, throughout this scene, all the ghosts have appeared in succession, according to their precedence in order of their respective deaths at the hand of Richard.

620. Lines 152, 153:

Let us be LAID within thy bosom, Richard,
And weigh thee down to ruin, shame, and death.

So Ff. and all Qq. except Q. 1, which has *lead*, the reading almost universally adopted by modern edd. It is with some hesitation that we prefer the reading of the majority of the old copies. No doubt instances occur in Shakespeare of the use of *lead* in a similarly figurative sense, e.g. in *Ant.* and *Cleo.* iii. 7. 72: "Love, I am full of *lead*;" in *Macbeth*, ii. 1. 6:

A heavy summons lies like *lead* upon me;

and in *Venus and Adonis*, line 1072:

Mine eyes are turn'd to fire, my heart to *lead*.

But still there is something commonplace in the expression here; and though it may seem a very fanciful idea, one cannot help remembering that the question of where the bodies of the young princes were *laid* remained a mystery for some time after their deaths. Surely the wish that their murderer might be compelled to bear the burdens of their murdered bodies in his bosom, the moral weight of which would weigh him "down to ruin, shame, and death," is at least as poetical as that they might turn to a lump of lead, which is suggestive rather more of indigestion than of remorse. *Lead* seems to be exactly one of those corrections which a too hasty emendator might make.

621. Line 156: *Good angels guard thee from the BOAR'S ANNOY.*—One of the numerous references to the crest Richard bore, which occur constantly throughout the play, and notably in the well-known speech of Richmond to his soldiers at the beginning of scene 2 of this act.

622. Line 160: *That never slept a quiet hour with thee.*—Anne makes the same complaint, iv. 1. 83, 84:

For never yet one hour in his bed
Have I enjoy'd the golden dew of sleep.

623. Lines 163, 164:

And fall thy *edgeless* sword: despair, and die!—
Thou quiet soul, sleep thou a quiet sleep.

Lettsom suggests that these lines are spurious. They certainly are very weak, and the fact that line 163 is a repetition of line 135 above looks very suspicious. But this scene is very unequally written throughout. It contains some of the very best and some of the very worst lines in the play.

624. Line 166: *Thy adversary's wife doth pray for thee.*—This is not a happy line. If Anne had been alive, her natural anxiety to become a widow would have given it greater point.

625. Line 173: *I DIED FOR HOPE ere I could lend thee aid.*—This is a passage which has been much but needlessly amended. Theobald conjectured "for *holpe*;" Hamner *forake*; Tyrwhitt *fore-done*. For the probable meaning of the expression see our foot-note Dyce (note 110) quotes from Greene's *James the Fourth*, v. 6:

'Twixt love and fear continual are the wars;
The one assures me of my Ida's love,
The other moves me for my murder'd queen;
Thus find I grief of that wherein I joy,
And doubt in greatest hope, and death in weal.
Alas, what hell may be compar'd with mine,
Since in extremes my comforts do consist!
War then will cease when dead ones are reviv'd;
Some then will yield when I am *dead for hope*

—Works, p. 217.

In that passage the expression *dead for hope* certainly means "*dead to hope*."

626. Line 176: *And Richard FALL in height of all his pride.*—No Ft.; Qq. have *falls*. We prefer retaining the subjunctive of Ft.

627. Line 180: *The lights BURN BLUE.*—It is now *dead midnight*.—The superstition that the lights *burn blue* in the presence of a ghost seems to be a very old one, and to have survived even to the present time. Brand in his *Popular Antiquities* (p. 627) says: "Should there be a lighted candle in the room during the time of an apparition, we are instructed that it will *burn extremely blue*; this being a fact 'so universally acknowledged that many eminent philosophers have busied themselves in accounting for it, without once doubting the truth of the fact.'" He is quoting the opinion of Grose, and on p. 626 he says: "Grose confesses his inability to learn that ghosts carry tapers in their hands, as they are occasionally depicted, though they contrive to illuminate the room in which they appear, destitute though it be of fire or candle." This luminosity was of a more or less phosphorescent nature; and therefore the superstition about the candles *burning blue* may have no further foundation than the idea that the light became *pale* and *blue*, like a phosphorescent light, in the presence of a ghost. Ghosts are frequently described as bringing a cold atmosphere with them. The effect of reducing the oxygen of a room would be, I believe, to make the lights *burn pale* and *blue*. The following passage is from Lilly's *Gallathea* (ii. 3): "That's a sticking spirit, I thought there was some spirit in it because it *burnt so blew*. For my mother would often tell me that when the candle *burnt blew*, there was some ill spirit in the house, and now I perceive it was the spirit brimstone" (Works, vol. I. p. 235). In Monk Lewis well-known ballad "Alonzo the Brave" the same idea occurs on the entrance of the ghost:

The lights in the chamber *burn'd blue*,

"It is now;" so Q 1; the other old copies, "It is not.

628. Lines 182, 183:

*What! do I fear myself?—there's none else by:
Richard loves Richard; that's, I am I.*

The punctuation in line 182 ~~from~~ F. 1; Q. 1, which most editors follow, has: *What do I fear! myself!* Either reading may be right. It is worth noting the intense egotism of line 183. Richard is completely self-contained, and depends for sympathy, or love, on no one. The whole of the passage, lines 182–203 inclusive, looks very much like an after insertion. Some of the lines are poor enough, but the last eleven lines (193–203) could ~~in~~ be spared. It is interesting to compare with this speech that of the king in *Hamlet*, iii. 8, especially the following passages:

But, O, what form of prayer

Can serve my turn? Forgive me my foul murder!
That cannot be; since I am still possess'd
Of those effects for which I did the murder,
My crown, mine own ambition, and my queen.
May one be pardon'd, and retain the offence?

—Lines 51–56.

What then? what rest?

Try what repentance can: What can it not?
Yet what can it, when one can not repent?
O wretched state! O bosom, black as death!
O lined soul! that struggling to be free,
Art more engag'd! Help, angels, make assay!
Bow, stubborn knees! and, heart, with strings of steel,
Be soft as sinews of the new-born babe;
All may be well.

—Lines 64–72.

Of course there is not any absolute resemblance between the two speeches; but, in each case, it is a guilty man communing with his own conscience, while suffering from a momentary paroxysm of remorse. But, while their characters are essentially different, the thoroughly distinct individuality which Shakespeare has given to the two men is none the less remarkable.

629. Lines 202, 203:

*since that I myself
Find in myself no pity to myself.*

Compare above, iv. 2. 64:

Tear-falling pity dwells not in this eye.

630 Lines 204–206:

*Methought the souls of all that I had murder'd
Came to my tent; and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.*

These lines certainly come in here rather awkwardly. Johnson would have placed them after line 102. Rann, following Mason's suggestion, inserted them after line 214, and that arrangement is followed by many modern editors, including Dyce. Grant White would insert them after line 173, which is a far more sensible suggestion; for surely Richard would not talk to Ratcliff about the souls of all that he had murdered. The probability is that the speech originally consisted of only nine lines, and that these lines followed 181. When the insertion of lines 182–203 was made, perhaps the author, or person who transcribed the insertion, forgot to draw his pen through these three lines. They certainly form here an anticlimax, for, in the two preceding lines, Richard's natural cynicism had regained its sway, and he would seem to have dismissed, for a moment, all thoughts of the ghosts. But still, as we do not like to omit them altogether, and do not see that there is any particular reason for placing them elsewhere in any one position more than

another, we have left them in the text as they are found, in all the old copies.

631. Line 209: *My lord, 'tis I. The early village-cook, &c.*—The well-known anecdote of the actor who, when speaking this line, omitted the stop in the middle, thus:

My lord, 'tis I the early village cook,

shows how important it is to observe the proper pauses when acting.

632. Lines 213, 214:

What thinkest thou,—will our friends prove all true?

Rich. No doubt, my lord.

K. Rich.

O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear!

This speech of Richard's and the one of Ratcliff's are omitted in Ff., which give only half a line to Richard—*O Ratcliff, I fear, I fear!*—so that Ratcliff's answer, line 215, has not much sense, as the king has not said anything about shadows. This omission on the part of Ff. is clearly accidental, and arose from the transcriber mixing the second *O Ratcliff* of line 214 with the one of line 212. Those editors who insert lines 204–206 after line 214 do so because of Ratcliff's reference to *shadows* in the next line; but he may very well be supposed to refer to Richard's fearful dream mentioned in line 212. As has already been pointed out, in note 630 above, it is very unlikely that Richard would have talked of his murders as *murders* to any of his dependants.

633. Lines 220, 221:

Come, go with me;

Under our tents I'll play the EAVES-DROPPER.

Walker suggests that we should transfer the semicolon from the end of line 220 to after *Under our tents*; and so Hamner and Capell punctuated the passage. But *Under our tents* here is a similar expression to *Under our windows*. This is the only passage in Shakespeare where this word *eaves-dropper* occurs. It is a word which seems to have given a great deal of trouble. F. 4 is the only old copy which spells the word correctly; Q. 1 has *ease-dropper*; Q. 2, *ewse dropper*; Q. 3, *ewse-dropper*; Q. 4, *eawse-dropper*; Q. 5, Q. 6, Q. 7, Q. 8, *ewse dropper*; F. 1, F. 2, F. 3, *ease-dropper*. In *The Tempest*, v. 1. 17, *eaves* is spelt correctly; in *All's Well*, iii. 7. 42, it is spelt *ewes*; and in *Measure for Measure*, iii. ii 186, *eaves*. Of the various forms given here from the texts of Qq. and Ff. *ease* may have been the old way of spelling the word.

634. Line 224: *Cry mercy; i.e. "I cry you mercy."* That phrase occurs frequently in Shakespeare; but this is the only instance of the omission of the objective case. *I* is sometimes omitted, e.g. *Two Gent. of Verona*, v. 4. 94: "*O, cry you mercy, sir.*"

635. Line 231: *and cried on Victory.*—Compare *Hamlet*, v. 2. 375: "This quarry cries on havoc."

636. Line 236.—This speech is partly founded on the speeches given in Hall; but the resemblance is not very close. According to Hall (p. 416) Richmond delivered this speech "mounted on a lytell hyll so that all his people myght se and beholde hym perfittly to there great rejoyayng." The speech is far too long to quote. The following passages are those most used by the dramatist.

Lines 243, 244: "beayde this I assure you that there be yonder in that great battaill, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldiours by force compelled and not wth good will assembled: persons which deayr rather the destruction then saluacion of their master and captain" (p. 417). Line 258: "but yf we wyn this battaill, y^e hole riche realme of England with the lordes and rulers of the same shall be oures, the profit shall be oures and the honour shall be oures. Therefore labour for your gayne and swet for your right: while we were in Brytaine we had small liuynges and lytle plentye of wealth or welfare, now is the time come to get abundaunce of riches and cople of profit which is the rewarde of your seruice and merite of your payne" (p. 417). Lines 267, 268: "And this one thyng I assure you, that in so iuste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coold grounde, then a fre prisoner on a carpet in a laydes chamber" (p. 418).

637. Line 250: *made precious by the FOIL*.—Compare *Richard II.* 1. 3. 206, 207:

*Esteem as foil, wherein thou art to set
The precious jewel of thy home-return.*

638. Line 262: *Your children's children QUIT it in your age.*—Qq. Ff. by mistake have *quits*.

639. Line 269. *Sound drums and trumpets, boldly, cheerfully.*—Qq. Ff. read "boldly and cheerfully;" the *and* in the line below having probably caught the transcriber's eye. The correction is Pope's.

640. Lines 281–283:

The sun will not be seen to-day;

The sky doth frown and lour upon our army.

I would these dewy tears were FROM the ground.

These allusions do not seem to have been noticed by any of the commentators. A great point is made of the fact that Richmond had so placed his army that they would have the sun at their backs, while it would be in the eyes of Richard's army. Though all the chroniclers allude to this precaution of Richmond's, they do not make any mention of the weather being, as seems to be implied here, gloomy and wet. The meaning of the last line is not quite clear. Does Richard mean that it was drizzling, or that there was a damp mist; or does he mean that he wishes there was not so much dew on the ground, *from being*—"away from"? The battle of Bosworth was fought on the 22nd August, at which time of the year it was likely that, on marshy ground, there would be a mist rising in the morning.

641. Lines 292–300.—Hall thus describes the arrangement of Richard's forces (p. 414): "kyng Richard beyng furnished wth men & all adimétes of wair, bringyng all his men out of there camp into y^e plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous lēth, in which he appointed both horsemen and footmen to theñtē to empyrte in y^e hartes of the y^e loked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadlie feare, for y^e great multitude of y^e armed souldiours: & in the fore Frount he placed y^e archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke: ouer this battaile was captain Jhon duke of Norfolk with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this lōg vātgard folowed king

Richard hi self, wth a strôg cōpaigny of chosen & approued mē of warr, haung horsmen for wynges on both y^e sides of his battail." It will be seen that Shakespeare has closely followed his authorities.

642. Line 203: *My forward shall be drawn OUT ALL in length.*—So Q. 1; all the other old copies omit *out all*; and perhaps we ought to read *be drawn out in length*.

643. Line 208: *They thus directed, we will follow.*—Pope added "we *ourselves*;" but the line may have been purposely left imperfect, in order to suit the hurried and almost feverish manner of the speaker.

644. Line 301: *Saint George TO BOOT!*—There is much difference of opinion as to the exact meaning of this expression. Some explain *to boot* as "to help;" but there is no doubt that it simply means "'in addition,' lit. 'for an advantage.'" See Skeat, *sub voce*. In Richard II. i. 3. 84 we have a somewhat similar expression:

Mine innocency and *Saint George to thrust!*

Hall and Holinshed both have *Saint George to borrow!* which must have been the oldest form. Compare Richard II. note 70.

645. Lines 304, 305:

*"Jockey of Norfolk, be not TOO bold,
For Dickon thy master is bought and sold."*

All the chronicles have these two lines verbatim as in text. Qq. Ff. have "so bold," except Q. 6, Q. 7, Q. 8, which have "to bold." This is evidently a mistake. Capell was the first to make the obvious correction.

646. Line 316: *A sort of vagabonds, rascals, RUNAWAYS*—Qq. and F. 1 have "and runaways." F. 2 was the first to omit the *and*. For *runaways* used as = *runagates*, compare Romeo and Juliet, iii. 2. 6, and see note 107 on that passage. It is worth noting that Richard has called Richmond "white-liver'd *runagate*" (iv. 4. 463).

647. Line 319: *To desperate VENTURES and assur'd destruction.*—Qq. Ff. have "desperate adventures," which spoils the metre of the line. Capell made the necessary correction.

648. Line 322: *They would DISTRAIN the one, distain the other.*—Qq. Ff. have *restrain*. The emendation is Hamner's, following Warburton's suggestion, and has been adopted by Walker and Dyce and by Collier's MS. Corrector. There seems to be no instance in Shakespeare of the use of *restrain* in the sense required here, whereas *distrain* is used twice in the sense of "to take possession of;" in Richard II. ii. 3. 131:

My father's goods are all *distrain'd* and sold,

and in I. Henry VI. i. 3. 61.

649. Line 324: *Long kept in Bretagne at our MOTHER'S cost*—So Qq. Ff. This mistake arose from Shakespeare having copied (as noticed above, note 479) from the second edition of Holinshed, which, by a printer's error, has *mother's* instead of *brother's*. Richmond was really supported by Richard's brother-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, who married his sister Mary. Hall, from whom Holinshed copied, as usual, verbatim, has, quite correctly, in Richard's speech (p. 415), "brought vp by my *brothere*

meanes and myne like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine." We have followed, very reluctantly, most editors in preserving this error, one which Shakespeare surely would have corrected had it been pointed out to him. Some commentators insist that it is worth retaining this error, because it proves that Shakespeare copied from Holinshed and not from Hall, and that the edition he used was the second edition, in which alone this mistake occurs. But granting this to be the fact, we fail to see why a mistake so obvious, and so absurd, should be retained in the text.

650. Line 325:

A MILK-SOP, one that never in his life
Felt so much cold as over shoes in snow.

Hall has this very expression (p. 415): "he is a Welsh *mylkesoppe*, a mā of small courage and of lesse experience in marceyall actes and feates of warr."

651. Line 334: *beaten, BOBB'D, and thwpp'd.*—This not very eloquent sentence is Shakespeare's own. *To bob* meant not only "to cheat," but "to give a sharp blow." It generally seems to have been used in more or less comic passages. Shakespeare uses the word in the same sense in Troilus and Cressida, ii. i. 76: "I have *bobb'd* his brain more than he has beat my bones."

652. Line 344: *Off with his son's head!*—Qq. Ff. have:

Off with *his son* George's head!

Hamner made it a metrically perfect line by printing:

Off *instantly* with his son George's head!

But the line is, probably, meant to be incomplete in order to emphasize the abruptness of the speaker. Some emendation in the text seems necessary, if the line is to be spoken with that quickness and decision which are, dramatically speaking, absolutely requisite. Other emendations which suggested themselves are:

Off with *his* George's head!

Off with *young* George's head!

Off with *win* George's head!

Off *with's* son George's head!

The last we should have printed, but although *his* very often occurs, in the elided form 's, with other prepositions, its elision here would not make the line any easier to speak. It is probable that the author originally wrote the line as we have printed it, and that the word *George* was subsequently added; at anyrate, the dramatic requirements are fulfilled by the emendation we have ventured to print.

653. Line 345: *My lord, the enemy is past the marsh.*—Compare Hall (p. 415): "Betwene both armies ther was a great *marrysse*."

ACT V. SCENE 4.

654. Line 3: *Daring an OPPOSITE to every danger.*—Compare Hamlet, v. 2. 60-62:

'Tis dangerous when the baser nature comes
Between the pass and fell incensed points
Of mighty opposites;

and II. Henry VI. v. 3. 21, 22:

'T is *enough* our foes are this time fled,
Being *opposites* of such repairing nature.

So in Westward for Smelta: "Yet doth he deny to grepple with none, but continually standeth ready to oppose himself against any that dare be his *opposite*" (Percy Society Reprint, 1848, p. 6).

655. Line 7: *a horse! a horse! my kingdom for a horse!*

The following are among some of the contemporaneous allusions to this passage, which appears to have been very largely imitated and parodied by the writers of the period:

Marston, *Scourge of Villanie*, 1598, *Aty* 7:

A man, a man, a kingdome for a man!

In *Parasitaster*, or the *Fawne*, 1600:

A foole, a foole, a foole, my oxcombe for a foole!

—Sig. H 3, back.

In *What you Will*, 1607, li. 1, he quotes the line literally, as follows:

Hail he mount[s] Chirall on the wings of fame.

A horse, a horse, my kingdom for a horse!

Shooke the, I speake play scrippes.

Richard Brathwalte, *Strappado for the Divell*, 1615:

If I had liv'd but in King Richards dayes,

Who in his heat of passion, mist the force

Of his Assaultants troubled many waies

Crying 'a horse! a Kingdome for a horse.'

O then, my horse, which now at Livery staves

Had bene set free. —Upon a Poets Palfrey, p. 154.

Heywood's *Iron Age*, 1611:

Syn. A horse, a horse.

Py. *Thy Kingdomes for a horse* to enter Troy.

—Works, vol. iii p. 369

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Little French Lawyer*, iv.:

Look up, brave friend: I have no means to rescue thee.

My kingdom for a sword.

—Works, ii p. 431

There may be a reminiscence of this line in the following passage from Heywood, II. *Edward IV.*:

A staff, a staff!

A thousand crowns for a staff!

—Works, vol. i p. 143.

656. Line 13.—We have placed part of the stage-direction here, slightly altered, which is usually placed at the beginning of the next scene. The stage-direction in Qq. is: "*Alarum, Enter Richard and Richmond, they fight, Richard is slain then retraits being wounded. Enter Richmond, Darby, bearing the crowne with other Lords, &c.*" That of Ff. is: "*Alarum, Enter Richard and Richmond, they fight, Richard is slain.*"

Retreat, and Flourish. Enter Richmond, Derby bearing the crowne, with divers other Lords. Dyce altered this to: "*Alarums. Enter, from opposite sides, KING RICHARD and RICHMOND; they fight, and exeunt fighting. Retreat and flourish. Then enter RICHMOND, with STANLEY bearing the crown, and divers other Lords, and Forces,*" and has the following note: "Mr. Knight retains the stage-direction of the old copies '—they fight; Richard is slain,' &c., and says in his note, 'It is important to preserve it, as showing the course of the dramatic action.' How Mr. Knight understands 'the dramatic action' to be carried on here, I cannot conceive. If, after Richard is killed in the sight of the audience, Stanley enters bearing the crown which he has plucked off from his 'dead temples,' there must have been two Richards in the

field.—The fact is, that here, as frequently elsewhere, in the old copies, the stage-direction is a piece of mere confusion: Richard and Richmond were evidently intended by the author to go off the stage fighting." The Cambridge edd. retain the stage-direction of the old copies (note xxvii.): "because it is probable from Derby's speech, 'From the dead temples of *this bloody wretch*,' that Richard's body is lying where he fell, in view of the audience;" and Dyce observes: "Nor is any stress to be laid on the expression '*this bloody wretch*;' in p. 441 Richard, though not present, is called '*this foul swine*' and '*this guilty homicide*.'" There certainly seems to be some confusion if the stage-direction of the old copies be adhered to, because Derby, i. e. Stanley, could hardly enter bearing the crown, if Richard were on the stage with the crown on his head. When Richard III. is acted, this last scene is always omitted; the play ending with the death of Richard, or rather with the entry of Richmond and his supporters, and the crowning of the victor in dumb-show. The way in which we have arranged the stage-direction seems to get rid of the difficulty.

As to the crown Hall says (p. 420): "Then y^e people rejoyced & clapped hâdes crying vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kyng Richard which was founde amongst the spoyle in the felde, and set it on therles hed, as though he had hyme elected kyng by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath been accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicitie." The Clarendon Press edd. (p. 236) say: "Tradition relates that it (the crown) was found in a hawthorn bush, and in Henry the Seventh's Chapel the stained-glass retains the emblem of the same crown hanging on the green bush in the fields of Leicestershire. (Stanley, *Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 150.)" Richard is said to have worn the crown in order to render himself conspicuous, or, according to Polydore Virgil, "thinking that Day should either be the Last of his Life, or the First of a Better" (Buck, vol. i. p. 542).

ACT V. SCENE 5.

657. Line 9: *But, tell me, is THE young George Stanley living?*—All the old copies read:

But tell me is young George Stanley living?

an awkward, unrhymical line. Various emendations have been proposed. Pope would read "tell me *first*," Keightley, "tell me *pray*;" Dyce, "tell me *now*." We have ventured to print the emendation in our text as being, in some respects, preferable.

658. Line 11: *Whither, if't please you, we may now withdraw us.*—Qq. have (substantially): "if't please you we may now withdraw us;" Ff. "if you please we may withdraw us."

659. Lines 13, 14:

*John Duke of Norfolk, Walter Lord Ferrers,
Sir Robert Brakenbury, and Sir William Brandon.*

Printed as prose in Q. 1, perhaps rightly. The *Walter Lord Ferrers* here mentioned was Sir Walter Devereux,

one of the old family of Devereux, whose grandson was created the first Viscount Hereford. He married Anne, sole daughter and heir of William, sixth Lord Ferrers of Chartley. He was Sheriff of Herefordshire in 1456; summoned to Parliament 1461 as Lord Ferrers, and made a Knight of the Garter, 1470. An account has already been given of the other characters here named. (See above, notes 11, 26, 592.)

660. Line 15: *Inter their bodies as BECOMES their birth*.
- Q₁ Fl. have become, altered by Rowe.

661. Lines 20, 21:

*Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,
That long HATH frown'd upon their enmity!*

The reading of the old copies is "*have frown'd*," except Q. 6, Q. 7, Q. 8, F. 4, which have "*hath frown'd*." Walker would read "*heavens . . . have*." The Cambridge edd. give an anonymous conjecture *Smile, heaven*; but the construction is probably intended to be that of the subjunctive mood.

662. Lines 25, 26:

*The father rashly slaughter'd his own son,
The son, compell'd, been butcher to the sire.*

See III. Henry VI. ii. 5. 55-122.

663. Lines 28–31:

Divided in their dire division.

By God's fair ordinance CONJOIN together!

Qq. Ff. have a full stop at the end of line 28 We have, like most editors, followed Johnson's proposed punctuation.

Dyce quotes (note 130) from Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Fifth Song, p. 76, ed. 1622:

Whose marriage couloynd the White rose and the Red.

664. Line 35: *Abate the EDGE of traitors, gracious Lord.*

—Compare I. Henry IV. i. 1. 17, 18:

The edge of war, like an ill sheathed knife,
No more shall cut his master.

685. Line 38: *That would REDUCE these bloody days again.*—*Reduce* is used in only one other passage in Shakespeare in this sense, in *Henry V.* v. 2. 63:

Which to reduce into our former favour.

Compare also ii. 2. 68 of this play:

All springs *reduce* their currents to mine eyes,

where it seems to mean simply "to bring," the only other passage in which Shakespeare uses the verb at all.

WORDS OCCURRING ONLY IN KING RICHARD III.

NOTE.—The addition of sub. adj. verb, adv. in brackets immediately after a word indicates that the word is used as a substantive, adjective, verb, or adverb, only in the passage or passages cited.

NOTE.—The compound words marked with an asterisk (*) are printed in Q. 1 and F. 1 as *two* separate words.

Act. Sc. Line	Act. Sc. Line	Act. Sc. Line	Act. Sc. Line
Subjects (sub.) i. 1 106	Bottled ⁷ i. 242	Convict ¹² i. 4 192	Dull-brained .. v. iv. #4 332
Accessory ¹ (adj.) i. 2 191	Breathless ⁸ iv. 81	Copious ¹³ iv. 4 135	Eaves-dropper. v. 8 221
Acquittance (verb) iii. 7 233	*Breathing-while ⁸ i. 60	Creation ¹⁴ iv. 3 10	Eligless v. 3 135, 163
A-high iv. 4 88	Bunch-backed i. 240	Cross-row i. 1 55	Egally iii. 7 213
All-ending iv. 1 78	Burdened (adj.) i. 111	Dabbled i. 54	*Elvish-marked i. 3 228
All-seer v. 1 20	Butt-end iii. 110	Damage (verb) i. 58	Engross ²⁰ iii. 7 76
All-Souls' day.. v. 1 10, 12, 18	Carodemon ... i. 144	Dead-killing ¹⁵ iv. 36	Engrossed ²¹ ... iii. 6 2
Annoy ² v. 3 150	Care-crazed ... iii. 134	*Deep revolving iv. 42	Erroneous ²² ... i. 4 200
Aweless ³ ii. 4 52	Care-crazed ... iii. 134	Definitively ... iii. 153	Expiate ²³ iii. 3 23
Battalia ⁴ v. 3 11	Carnal ⁹ iv. 56	Delivery ¹⁶ i. 75	*Fairrest-boding v. 3 227
Battle-waning iii. 7 185	Chamber ¹⁰ iii. 1	Demise ¹⁷ iv. 248	Faithful ²⁴ i. 4 4
Bedashed i. 2 163	*Childish-foolish i. 142	Descant ¹⁸ (verb) i. 27	*False-boding. i. 3 247
Bigamy iii. 7 189	Cock-shut v. 69	Dewy ¹⁹ v. 238	*Father-in-law ²⁵ v. 3 81
Black-faced ⁵ i. 2 159	Consistory ¹¹ ... ii. 150	Diagracious... { iii. 112 iv. 178	Fatting ²⁶ i. 3 814
Blindly v. 5 24	7 = bloated.	Drawbridge ... iii. 15	Ferryman i. 4 46
Blood-suckers ⁶ iii. 3 6	8 Venus and Adonis, 1142.		
	9 In the sense of "bloodthirsty."		
	10 In its ordinary sense it is used in Hamlet, v. 2. 392, and Othello, i. 3. 335.		
	11 In the peculiar sense of camera regia.		
	12 = solemn assembly. Occurs in the special sense of the College of the Cardinals in Henry VIII. ii. 4. 92, 93.		
	13 = convicted. 13 Venus, 645.		
	14 i.e. of the world; and in Lucrece, 934. Occurs frequently in its general sense.		
	15 Lucrece, 540.		
	16 = release. 16 = bequeath.		
	17 Lucrece, 1134; Pilgrim, 164.		
	18 Lucrece, 1232; Pilgrim, 71.		
	19 Lucrece, 1232; Pilgrim, 71.		
	20 = to fatten.		
	21 = copied in fair.		
	22 = mistaken, misled.		
	23 = expiated; see note 237. The verb occurs in Sonnet xxii. 4.		
	24 In religious sense.		
	25 = stepfather.		
	26 Participle used substantively.		

WORDS PECULIAR TO KING RICHARD III.

[illegible]

' ORIGINAL EMENDATIONS ADOPTED.

Note

61. 1. 1. 95: *And that the queen's KIN are made gentle-*
folks.
87. 1. 2. 101:
Didst thou not kill this king?
Glo. I DID, I grant ye
183. 1. 3. 318, 319:
So do I ober: [Aside] being well advis'd;
For had I curs'd now, I had curs'd myself.

Note

358. III 3. 17: *Then curs'd she Richard TOO; then curs'd*
she Buckingham.
509. IV 5. 7: *Saying that the queen hath heartily consented.*
615. V 3. 180: *There in thy sleep doth comfort: live and*
flourish.
652. V 3. 844: *Off with his son's head!*
657. V 5. 9: *But tell me is THE young George Stanley*
living!

EMENDATIONS ON KING RICHARD III.

ORIGINAL EMENDATIONS SUGGESTED.

Note

181. l. 4. 80, 90:

*'Tis better to be brief than tedious;
Let him see our commission: talk no more.*

187. l. 4. 112-114:

*No, not to kill him, having warrant for't;
But to be damn'd for killing him, from which
No warrant can defend me.*

242

Note

300. ill. 1. 71: *Which, since, succeeding ages have REBUILT.*
So Hammer.

315. ill. 1. 123: *I would, that I might thank you as—as—*
So Walker.

367. ill. 4. 49: *I have sent SOME ONE for those.*

617. v. 3. 143: *Let fall thy lance: DESPAIR, despair and*
die.



